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WASHINGTON'S WESTERN LANDS

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WASHINGTON'S WESTERN LANDS

Colonel GEORGE WASHINGTON
By C. W. PEALE, 1772

Courtesy of
Washington and Lee University

Photo by
Miley

"Set for Mr. Peale to finish my face. In the afternoon rid with him to my mill."—*Diary*, May 22, 1772

Washington's Western Lands

By ROY BIRD COOK

Author of "The Family and Early Life of Stonewall Jackson"
"Lewis County in the Civil War," etc.

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PREFACE

WASHINGTON was the first great American expansionist. His first connection with history was his effort to preserve the country west of the Alleghenies for the English colonies, and he never lost interest in the development of this region to the day of his death. Moreover, he clearly saw the possibilities of the then wild region on the Ohio River and its southern tributaries, and seized every opportunity to acquire land holdings in this section. He was a large land holder in eastern Virginia, but by far the most important part of his holdings was on the Western waters. A great deal of his time and thought as a business man was given to these lands in what is now West Virginia. Probably if he had had children, these thousands of acres would have descended to them intact, making them possibly the richest family in the country. But Washington had only nephews and nieces, and step-grandchildren, and many of them, and his estate was divided and sub-divided, and came to little. His life work was giving freedom to America, not the building up of a great fortune, for which his business ability eminently qualified him.

This important chapter in Washington's business life will be interesting to all interested in the marvelous career of the founder of the American nation.

H. J. ECKENRODE

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INTRODUCTION

IN ORDER to obviate any misunderstanding it seems well to point out that this little volume aims to give a sketch of Washington's interest in, and connection with, the Ohio Valley and its contiguous territory. This is one of the most interesting chapters of his life, extending back to his boyhood, out of which he had scarcely emerged when he was employed by Lord Fairfax in surveying lands in the Potomac drainage area. In 1749 his brothers, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, became members—and Lawrence the chief manager—of the Ohio Company, formed in Virginia, for the colonization of the interior region.

Washington's *Journal of a Tour to the Ohio in 1753*, published after his visit to the French Fort on the Allegheny showed quite clearly his idea of the value of the great West. This journal was but one of a number, and no one who would understand the greatness of the man would omit the reading of them, marked as they are by the painstaking observations set down in a crisp manner. From them may be gleaned an accurate record of his entire life. The truth is that the material relative to the life of Washington is voluminous. The Washington manuscripts in the Library of Congress, examined for original material for this little volume, comprise a vast storehouse of information. The papers for the years 1797 and 1798 alone occupy fifteen volumes. Recently there has appeared the monumental *Diaries of George Washington*, comprising all the known journals, edited by the scholarly Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick. The *Writings of George Washington*, in fourteen volumes, compiled and edited by Worthington C. Ford, ranks high. Jared Sparks, the historian, also col-

lected and compiled with care the *Life and Writings of Washington.* Other investigators, however, accuse Sparks of replacing "many original words," in Washington's letters for "those he decided better."

Yet, in spite of Washington's methodical records, which were left for the perusal of his fellowman, no other great figure in history has had to live down such a mass of legends. Within a year after his death the pernicious and highly imaginative Rev. Mason Weems brought out a work of which John Neale said, "Not one word of which we believe." It may be recorded that Weems was the greatest book agent of his time.

The East, however, had no monopoly of Washington legends and traditions. The Ohio Valley region soon teemed with them, and to this day they continue to grow, assisted by pen and press. It is to the correction of this condition that this book is dedicated. As is usually the case, there is no way to determine the origin of these traditions. Washington, as will be quite clearly shown, never made but one journey down the Ohio, and then only to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Yet the historian Lewis Collins, in 1874, in his "Historical Sketches of Kentucky," with no basis of fact whatever, abruptly relates that Washington in 1770 surveyed on the Big Sandy, in eastern Kentucky, a grant of land for John Fry. Not content with this, he moves the surveyor on down the Ohio to the site of Louisville. The statement has since been repeated by numerous excellent scholars. Many Ohio and West Virginia writers have asserted that Washington surveyed lands on the Little Kanawha, in 1771; and on the Great Kanawha at various dates. Even so good an authority as R. G. Thwaites in his Western Travels states that Washington visited the site of Point Pleasant in 1774, the year of the battle of Point

Pleasant, which is obviously an error. Another able historian asserts that "in 1775 Gen. Washington visited the (Great) Kanawha valley in person." A well-known textbook asserts that "a month was spent in surveying" lands located "on the Ohio," and in the "valley of the Great Kanawha."

Tradition further relates that Washington personally surveyed for "John Savage and others" a tract of land on the Ohio above Big Sandy River and that, in doing this, he carved with his own hand the words "To the Living God, G. W.," still to be seen on Chimney Rock, a freak stone formation back of Ceredo, West Virginia. His camp was made at Washington's Spring on Hubbard's Branch, below the site of Huntington; and for the visitor is pointed out a comparatively young sycamore tree which grew from a hand spike stuck into the ground by Washington. Other corners of the Savage grant, one a stone in a great elm, receive a like mention. He named, it is also related, the streams Four Pole and Twelve Pole, which join the Ohio, although a map dated 1796, "according to the best authorities," while it enumerates several smaller local streams and the Guyandotte and Big Sandy, makes no mention of them.

Many of the local claims revolve around the letters "G. W." Highly prized in some families are pieces of furniture made from some tree bearing this mark; and, firm in the belief that Washington carved the letters thereon, the owners refuse to believe any evidence to the contrary. But what of the origin of these letters? It may be stated that the use of these letters was a common practice by such surveyors as Floyd, Dandridge, and Crawford, all of whom were more or less under the direction of Washington in making military surveys. The grant of John Savage and others (61 men of his company) is for 28,627 acres, "begin-

ning at a small elm marked G. W. standing on the bank of the River Ohio," etc. It is dated December 15, 1772. Turning from the Ohio to the Great Kanawha for another illustration, we find that on December 1, 1773, 21,941 acres was granted to John Fry and others, "beginning at a beech and hicory tree lettered G. W. standing in the point at the mouth of the Pocatallico on the lower side of where it falls into the Great Kanawha River." In no connection with these, in the records of the Virginia land office, does the name of Washington appear, and it will be noted the grants were made two and three years after his only journey into this region.

These traditional beliefs are not confined to the realm of books, but are disseminated by the public press. One newspaper asserted that Washington "in his diary tells of travelling from the mouth of Coal River to Burning Springs," above Malden, on the Great Kanawha. Another relates that he surveyed the "site of St. Albans." He is later found on the waters of Greenbrier. Next, he is in Raleigh County and in some way passes "through Clarksburg on a surveying trip." The statement of able historians that he and his wife spent the summer of 1797 at Old Sweet Springs, Monroe County, is best dismissed by an entry by Washington in his journal on Saturday, July 9, 1785: "John Bassett and G. A. Washington set out after breakfast for the Sweet Springs in Bottetourt county." The last named county at one time embraced the Monroe territory. Yet it may be asserted in the interest of accuracy that he was never at any of the points enumerated, and never made an actual survey of any kind in the entire region.

The account of Washington's only journey down the Ohio is to be found in two manuscripts. The formal journal is entitled, "October, Remarks and Occurs," and

followed by, "November, Where & how my time is Spent." A smaller journal for the same period is headed, "October, Where & how my time is Spent." These have been published by Fitzpatrick; in part by Ford and Sparks, and a portion in the *Old South Leaflets*, issued by the Directors of the Old South Work. The original diary is in the Library of Congress; and, as will be noted, is badly mutilated. With it is also the original transcript made by Dr. J. M. Toner covering some 67 pages.

In 1908, Dr. Archer B. Hulbert, some time professor at Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, made a new transcript of the journal, and, in addition, so much of the mutilated portion as was legible. This with the small journal, which had not heretofore been published, was printed under the caption, "*Washington's Tour to the Ohio*," and "*Articles of the Mississippi Company*," in the Ohio Historical Quarterly. To this and Dr. Hulbert's splendid study of the tour of 1784 into western Pennsylvania, entitled, *Washington and the West*, the writer is indebted. Further information has been secured from C. W. Butterfield's, the "*Washington-Crawford Letters*;" "*Washington's Interest in Western Lands*," by Herbert B. Adams; the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and various public records.

It is not to be presumed that this sketch is perfect. In spite of care errors may have crept in. But if it helps in a small way to clarify some points in the life of him who was "first in war and first in peace," its mission will have been fulfilled.

WASHINGTON'S WESTERN LANDS

CHAPTER I

WASHINGTON'S ENTRANCE INTO THE OHIO VALLEY

THE FIRST of the six visits made by Washington into the Ohio drainage area was the mission to the French Forts on the Allegheny River in 1753-1754. This journey, according to Perkins in his "*Annals of the West*," made one of the greatest speculators in western lands after the close of the French and Indian war which followed. Yet this statement is not absolutely correct, inasmuch as Washington seems to have been born with a vision of the future of a great nation and unselfishly laid so much of the foundation as was humanly possible for a very human man.

In 1754 Washington again appears, this time as the commander of the Virginia Regiment which opened the French war at Fort Necessity; in 1755 he marched with the arrogant and domineering Braddock to the death trap on the Monongahela; and in 1758 he opened the way to the capture of Fort Duquesne for the army of John Forbes. After the tour of 1770 attention was given to the struggle for American freedom; in 1784 Washington appeared in the role of promoter of transportation in an endeavor to find a route of commercial use, over the Alleghenies.

These expeditions westward brought into being one great tie that bound Washington to the Ohio Valley. So slow was Virginia to furnish men for the regiment to serve under his leadership that free lands were offered as an inducement to enlist. It was the execution of Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation, and a great sense of loyalty to his men, that led Washington into the region again. It reads as follows:

Virginia ss.

By the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq.;

His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of this Dominion.

A PROCLAMATION

For Encouraging Men to enlist in His Majesty's Service for the Defense and Security of this Colony.

Whereas it is determined that a Fort be immediately built on the River Ohio, at the Fork of the Monongahela, to oppose any further Encroachments, or hostile Attempts of the French, and the Indians in their interest, and for the Security and Protection of his Majesty's Subjects in this Colony; and as it is absolutely necessary that a sufficient Force should be raised to erect and support the same; For an Encouragement to all who shall voluntarily enter into the said Services, I do hereby notify and promise, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council of this Colony, that over and above their Pay, Two Hundred Thousand Acres of his Majesty's the King of Great Britains Lands, on the East Side of the River Ohio, within this Dominion, One Hundred Thousand Acres whereof to be contiguous to the said Fort, and the other Hundred Thousand Acres to be on, or near the River (Ohio) shall be laid off and granted to such Persons, who by their voluntary Engagement, and good Behaviour in the said Service shall deserve the same. And I further promise, that the said Lands shall be divided amongst them immediately after the Performance of the said Service, in a proportion due to their respective merit, as shall be represented to me by their Officers, and held and enjoyed by them without paying any Rights, and also free from the Payment of Quit Rents, for the Term of Fifteen Years. And I do appoint this Proclamation to be read and published at the Court-Houses, Churches and Chapels in each County within this Colony, and that the Sheriffs take Care the same shall be done accordingly.

Given at the Council Chamber in Williamsburg, on the 19th Day of February, in the 27th Year of his Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domini 1754.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

God Save the King

Yet more than the mere thought of justice to his comrades of the French and Indian war actuated Washington in his interest in lands in the Ohio basin, even though it must be said that at no time did he allow the rights of his

companions in arms to go uncared for, and took unusual pains to see that justice was meted out to every soldier entitled to any bounty whatever.

In this Washington met with obstacles for a long time—first from the ministry in England, and second from the Virginia authorities. No expense was spared; no labor was too great to carry into execution the proclamation. Even Jacob Van Braam, who was believed to have deceived Washington at Great Meadows and had fled to England, was not forgotten in the distribution. The land purchases that Washington himself soon began to make were not made as a land hunter, but in a belief in the great future of the Trans-Allegheny region. True, he thought of self. It would not have been human to have done otherwise; but, that thought of his fellowman was included is evident from his statement on the discovery of a salt lick, which he said he could turn to immense private and public profit.

The years 1760-62 find Washington giving increasing attention to lands on the Ohio; on June 3, 1763, articles were drawn up forming the "Mississippi Land Company," for speculative land purchases, which had a brief and precarious existence. His brothers belonged to the older Ohio Company, which had, in a way, been a factor in the origin of the French and Indian war. Its charter had provided that one hundred families were to be placed upon a grant of 200,000 acres between the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha. This it failed to do. An attempt to reorganize the company in 1760 came to nothing, because of conflicting military bounty land grants; in 1763 a new company was promoted which received the Walpole Grant mentioned in the Washington journal herein included. On top of all this, the British ministry attempted to keep settlers from crossing the Alleghenies at all.

Such things, however, did not seem to stem the westward movement of the pioneers. George Croghan led the vanguard of the English in an expedition down the Ohio. Captain William Crawford, who had learned the art of surveying in the Shenandoah Valley under Washington, soon settled at the site of New Haven, Pennsylvania, and was destined from that time on to have close contact with all of Washington's plans for the future in that region. From Mount Vernon, on September 21, 1767, Washington writes to Crawford at some length, relative to matters mentioned in a previous letter, and to a conversation with Valentine Crawford.

Continuing, he wrote, in part:

> "I offered in my last to join you in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part, which I think may be accomplished after awhile, notwithstanding the proclamation that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands. Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will, moreover, be at all the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages.
>
> "By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land. You will consequently come in for a very handsome quantity; and as you will obtain it without any costs or expenses, I hope you will be encouraged to begin your search in time. I would choose, if it were practicable, to get large tracts together, and it might be desirable

to have them as near your settlement or Fort Pitt as they can be obtained of good quality, but not to neglect others at a greater distance, if fine bodies of it lie in one place. It may be worthy of your inquiry to find out how the Maryland back line will run, and what is said about laying off Neal's grant. I will enquire particularly concerning the Ohio Company, that we may know what to apprehend from them. For my own part, I should have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburgh, but would first willingly secure some valuable tracts nearer at hand.

"I recommend, that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land. This advice proceeds from several very good reasons, and, in the first place, because I might be censured for the opinion I have given in respect to the King's proclamation, and then, if the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and, by putting them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing, and, probably, in the end, overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which, you may, I presume, effectually do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When this is fully discovered, advise me of it, and if there appears but a possibility of succeeding any time hence, I will have the lands immediately surveyed, to keep others off, and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity.

"If this letter should reach your hands before you set out, I should be glad to have your thoughts fully expressed on the plan here proposed, or as soon afterwards as convenient; for I am desirous of knowing in due time how you approve of the scheme."

Crawford writes in reply:[1]

"With regard to looking out land in the King's part," wrote Crawford in his reply, "I shall heartily embrace your offer upon the terms you proposed; and as soon as I get out and have my affairs settled in regard to the first matters proposed, I shall set out in search of the latter. This may be done under a hunting scheme (which I intended before you wrote to me) and I had the same scheme in my head, but was at a loss how to accomplish it. I wanted a person in whom I could confide—

[1] The original letters from Crawford show considerable variation from the spelling as used in copies by Sparks, Ford, Butterfield, and others. The letters with corrected spelling are used herein.

> and whose interest could answer my ends and his own. I have had several offers but have not agreed to any; nor will I with any but yourself or whom you think proper."

As long as the territory was in British control, it was unquestionably the "King's part." Hulbert points out that Washington was therefore still working along the line of securing a grant for his Mississippi company, but that the minute the lands passed into the control of others there could be no hope of such a grant. And such happened to be the case, for in 1768, by the memorable treaty of Fort Stanwix at Rome, New York, Virginia purchased all the territory now embraced in Kentucky and West Virginia.

Washington did not visit Crawford in 1767, and the events of 1768 no doubt caused some change in his plans relative to the location of Western lands. He set to work during the latter part of the following year, and prepared a petition to the executive council of Virginia, on behalf of himself and the other officers and soldiers entitled to bounty lands under the Dinwiddie proclamation. The petition was presented in December, 1769; furthermore, it was prayed that 200,000 acres of land be allotted on the waters of the Ohio, and that the claimants might have the privilege of appointing a particular surveyor.

The executive Council thereupon proceeded to grant the petition and authorized the claimants to take up the acreage enumerated in one or more surveys, provided that it did not interfere with previous settlements. The claimants, with the approval of Washington, then proceeded to elect Colonel William Crawford, a deputy surveyor for Augusta county (then believed to embrace his home in Pennsylvania) as the special surveyor for the lands so granted. As later events proved, most of the surveys were made by, or under his direction in 1771-1773.

The news relative to the action of the Council, coupled with its own delays, did not reach Washington until some time later, inasmuch as in the latter part of January he wrote the following highly interesting letter to his brother, Charles[1]:

Mount Vernon,
Jan. 31, 1770.

Dr. Charles:

If you saw my brother John in Stafford when you were down there at Christmas, if you had any conversation with my Br Sam'l on the subject I mentioned to you; and if any time was proposed for your meeting at this place I should be glad to know it. & beg you will write me a line by the first Post after this gets to hand, informing me of it accordingly; as I want to prepare for my journey, but am desirous before hand of knowing whether I am to go alone, or in company, as it will make some difference in my preparations.

As I expect it will shortly be known whether the Officers & Soldiers under the King's proclamation have any chance to come in for lands West of the Allegheny Mountains, I should be glad to know if any of them which may fall in yr way would sell their rights; & upon what terms; tho I have little expectation that any of them would sell such terms as I would buy, or any person could afford to buy, unless they warranted the lands; For if the number of Grants (which are of older date to the King's Proclamation) should take place as there is too much reason to apprehend, if they do not by clashing with each other destroy themselves; I would hardly give an Officer a button for his Right; for besides a large tract of Country reserved for the Indian Traders from Fort Pitt near 150 miles down the Ohio & up to the Laurell Hills there appeared by a list laid before the House of Burgesses by order of the Govt to be between 6 & 700-000 of acres actually granted and petitioned for — & most of the grants made in such general & indeterminate terms, that if confirmed no man can lay off a foot of land & be sure of keeping it till they are served. Upon my showing Mr. Thurston (who was formerly a Lieutnt & thereby entitled to 2000 acres of land) a copy of the grants & proceedings of the House of Burgesses thereupon he immediately sold his right (tho otherwise very fond of it) to Lund Washington for Ten Pounds. Now could I purchase 12 or 15,000 acres on the same terms I would do it considering of it as a Lottery only; & my

[1] Published in Magazine of American History, August, 1899.

reasons for doing so are these. Such a quantity of Land as this added to what I may expect in my own Right, would form a Tract of so great dignity as to render it worth my while to send out a person for the discovery of land, clear if possible of these numerous grants, & to be at some expense and trouble in seating & saving it; for without this the land would be forfeited, which I believe will be the case with half the Officers of this Colony if they should actually obtain the Land— & again it would be worth my while thus situated to buy of some who might under their Grants think I clashed with them. Upon the whole, as you are situated in a good place for seeing many of the Officers at different times I should be glad if you would (in a joking way rather than in earnest, at first) see what value they seem to set on their Lands; & if you can buy any of the Rights of those who continued in the Service till after the Cherokee Expedition, at the rate of about five, or six, or seven pounds a thousand acres I should be oblidged to you & will pay the money on demand— I am of the opinion that Chew & some of those who may be in want of a little ready money would gladly sell nor is it to be much wondered at if they should, for if those large grants which I have already mentioned should take place the purchaser will have sunk so much money to very little purpose; nor is the Officer's Rights under the Proclamation of any consequence to those who either does not resolve to go after the Land himself or employ others to do it for him, the first I do not suppose any are inclined to, the last is hardly worth the expense for small tracts; and the Officer is as much obliged to find the Land as any other individual; nor is his Title, if he be not entitled to some degree of preference, a jot better than any other man's who will go in pursuit of lands for himself, except that he is to enjoy it 10 years free of Quit rents—If you should make any purchases let it be done in your name for reasons I shall give you when we meet. Take bonds in large penalties to convey all their Rights under the King's Proclamation to you, & they should be obliged to suffer their names to be made use of to obtain the Land, as the King's Proclamation requires a Personal application to the Govn'r & Council in order to entitle them to the Respective quantities granted. In looking over the list of grants that were laid before the Hse of Burgesses I perceived one for 10,000 acres to a certain Ambrose Powell (who I believe lives in Cullpeper County) lying above the Mouth of the great Kanaway. His is comprehended within a grant of 200,000 acres, it is also fixed at a place where two or three other Grants are laid & I believe some of them are older; but as it lyes in the way of a scheme I have in view; & would in some smaller degree promote my plan if I had it, I should be obliged to you if you would enquire in a round about way who

this Powell is & where he lives, & tell me who you think the most likely person for me to employ to purchase his right to the grant—You need not let your reasons for enquiring after Powell be known, till you have given me what information you can concerning him, least it may give him or others cause to imagine that his grant is more valuable than it really is; in fact I do not think that it is intrinsically worth a groat (tho I would give a little, or 10 pounds for it, if I could not get it for less) inasmuch as it is totally swallowed up in other Grants; but several of this sort may in some measure give me a prior claim to have my share of 200,000 acres above the mouth of the Gr Kanaway where I am told the land is very fine, it is for this reason that I would give a little for Powell's—In the whole of your transactions either with the Officers, or on this other matter, do not let it be known that I have any concern therein—I have enclosed you a copy of the Bond I drew from Thurston to Lund Washington, which will serve you for a Precedent in case you should make any purchases—I have put your name in the place of Lund Washington's as I would have the title given to you & not to me, till matters are riper than they appear to be at present. I shall take care to furnish you with money as you may find occasion to compleat the quantity I have mentioned. Show no part of this letter so that you can be drawn into no trouble or difficulty in this affair—In the meantime I would be glad if you would write me fully by the first post after this gets to hand.

I am yr most affect Brother

GEO. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Enclosed you will receive 30 p. to pay the within acct. of James Brown—tho I think it is a most enormous charge as I would be glad you would tell him.

Washington feared that the Walpole Grant might interfere with the soldiers' lands, and his own plans. On April 15, 1770, he wrote Governor Botetourt at some length relative to this subject, in which he said in part:

"I shall beg leave to refer your lordship to an order of Council of the 18th of February, 1754, and to Governor Dinwiddies proclamation, which issued in consequence of that order, both of which are enclosed. I will next add that these troops not only enlisted agreeably to the proclamation. Would it not then be hard, my Lord, to deprive men under these circumstances, of their representatives of the just reward of their toils? Was not this act of the Governor and the Council

> offered the soldiers, and accepted by them, an absolute compact? And though the exigency of affairs, or the policy of government, made it necessary to continue these lands in a dormant state for some time, ought not their claim be considered in preference to all others?"

In August, 1770, Washington journeyed to Fredericksburg. Here, in the home of Captain George Weedon, a dinner was held that was attended by many of his former officers, and at which there was a general discussion of the land claims. The result was that it was finally decided that Washington should make a journey to the Ohio basin to make an inspection of the desired lands.

Under such circumstances, firmly imbued with a determination that the veterans of the Virginia regiment should receive their rights, Washington made ready for his journey into the Ohio Valley. His objects, which appear from time to time in the narrative, were to inspect the lands that Crawford had already selected in western Pennsylvania; to look up the best unoccupied tracts along the Ohio and Great Kanawha for purchase; and to make a beginning in the location of the bounty lands for the soldiers of his Virginia Regiment.

CHAPTER II

THE TOUR TO THE OHIO

OCTOBER 1, 1770, found Washington attending to last-minute details relative to the Mount Vernon estate, before setting out on his tour. In company with his cousin, Warner Washington, agent for the Lord Fairfax lands, he rode around the home place, giving final directions to men engaged in "ditching" the lowlands, and visited the mill. Colonel William Fairfax joined the party; one may assume that the subject of the proposed journey received much attention.

The intended journey had no doubt been the subject of wide interest, especially to the men who had served in Washington's regiment, for on October 2, Washington records that "John Savage, formerly a Lieutenant, in the Virginia service and one Wm. Carnes came to enter their claim to a share in the 200,000 acres of land." A month later Washington and his party are found at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, within forty miles of the land finally awarded to Savage and his company, and upon which in time grew up the city of Huntington, West Virginia.

In the meantime, Dr. James Craik arrived at Mount Vernon to join the party. He was born in Orbigland, Scotland, in 1730, and died at Van Cluse, Fairfax County, on February 6, 1804. After graduating at Edinburgh he emigrated to America and settled near Mount Vernon; he became a prominent physician, serving through a part of the Revolution, and was long a devoted friend of Washington, attending him in his last illness. He married Marriane Ewell, a relative of Washington's mother.

On the fifth the party set out for the West, Washington making the first entry in his formal journal as follows:

> "Began a journey to the Ohio in company with Dr. Craik, his servant and two of mine, with a lead horse with baggage. Dined at Towlston and lodged at Leesburg distant from Mt. Vernon about 45 miles here my portmanteau horse failed in his stomach."

From Leesburg, on the sixth, the party proceeded by way of Snicker's Gap, into the lower Shenandoah Valley, arriving late in the evening at Samuel Washington's home on "Worthington's Marsh." Washington's brother, Samuel, had located near present Charles Town, Jefferson County, West Virginia, in 1768 or 69, where he erected the manor house, Harewood. From Samuel Washington, another horse was procured to replace the one that failed at Leesburg. Washington in the meantime "dispatched a messenger to Col. Stephen, apprising him of my arrival and intended journey." Adam Stephen was a native of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and later owner of the site of Martinsburg, Berkeley County. He was prominent in military affairs during Washington's activity and was sometime commandant of Fort Cumberland, which lay on the proposed route of the party.

The party proceeded on the seventh by way of Jasper Rinker's to Samuel Pritchard's, on Cacapon River; indicative of Washington's untiring observations was the record, "at Rinkers which appears to be a cleanly house my boy was taken sick but continued on to Pritchards," which is also a pretty good house and their "beds tolerably clean."

"My servant being unable to travel," says Washington, on the eighth, "I left him at Pritchards with Dr. Craik and proceeded myself with Valentine Crawford—(a brother of Captain William Crawford)—to Colonel (Thomas) Cresaps in order to learn from him (being just arrived from

England) the particulars of the grant said to be lately sold to Walpole and others, for a certain tract on the Ohio."

Captain Thomas Cresap lived at Oldtown, Maryland, above the junction of the South and North Branches of the Potomac, opposite Green Springs, West Virginia. He was a member of the Ohio Company of 1748, and a noted Indian fighter and trader. The route for the day covered about 26 miles, divided by Washington into 8 miles to the Fort (Forks of Cacapon) at Henry Enoch's, the "road exceedingly bad, 12 to Cox's at the mouth of the little Cacapehon—and 6 afterwards."

On the ninth, Washington rode to Romney, about twelve miles up the South Branch of the Potomac, where he bought two work horses and met Dr. Craik with the baggage and his servant. Here he also had the good fortune to recover another horse "which had been gone from me near three years," showing quite clearly Washington's familiarity with all of his property. From Romney, on the tenth, he dispatched a servant to Mount Vernon with two riding horses, and the party resumed the journey, crossing, it appears, the divide between the South Branch and Patterson's Creek, by one "Parkers" and going thence to "Wises (now Turners) Mill, a distance of about 22 miles."

Leaving "Turners Mill" about 11 a. m., on the eleventh, the party continued through present Mineral County, West Virginia, about ten miles south of Fort Cumberland, Md., crossed the North Branch of the Potomac, and "arrived that night at one Killams on a branch of George Creek." The day's journey led through the lower end of lands that had belonged to Washington's brother, Augustine.

On the twelfth, the party "left Killams early in the morning, breakfasted at the Little Meadows ten miles off, and lodged at the Great Crossing, twenty miles further."

				Dr		
	The Officers & Soldiers concerned in the Grant of 200,000 Acr^s of Land.....					
1769	To Fee given Mr. Walthoe Clerk of the Council for entering ye Grant Dec 15th 1759			5–	5–	0
1770	To Messrs Purdie & Dixon their Advertisement for the Claims to be brought in....			–	14–	0
June 23	To Willm Rind inserting ye above 22 weeks. .			2–	7–	0
October & Nov	To Publishing in both Gazettes notice of the meeting at Fred'g in August.....			–	14–	0
	To Expenses attending my trip to the Great Kanhawa from Captain Crawfords & backe to that place again exclusive of ye other Exp's of my journey amounting to as much more viz					
	To the Smith at Fort Pitt fixing our Canoe &c.....	£1– 7– 6				
	To James Milligan a Lock for Do....	– 4– 0				
	To the Commissary for Provisions.	£10–19 2				
	John Street assisting in bringing our Horses to ye Mingo Town.....	9– 0				
	To paid the Indians per Alex^r McKees Acct.....	£ 5– 8– 0				
	John Harts..	4–10– 0				
	Dev^r Smith.....	15	10–13–0			
	To the Ind^n Interpreter.....		5– 8–0			
	To Saml Samples Tavern Acct for our own & Horses Exp^s at Fort Pitt whilst we were unavoidably detained there on our way out & in —it being part of his Acct of £26–1–10	£19–14– 5				
	To the Widow Miers Acct of Expe^s	1–19– 6				
		£50–14– 7				
	deduct 25 pr Ct.....	10– 2–11		40	11	8
Nov 25	To cash paid Captn Crawford for his trouble— The Expense of his H^o & loss of time in accompanying me to the Great Kanhawa.....			25–	0–	0
1771 Feb^y	To advertising the Meet^g at Winchester in both Gazettes—3 weeks each.....				14	00
Mar 1	To Ball^n due from G. W. — & Cred^d per Contra			13	11	10
				£88	12	6
1770	Contra Cr					
Augt 2	By Doct^r Craik — towards surveying.....			6	0	0
" 4	By Captn Hog Do Do			9	0	0
" 6	By Mr James Mercer for his Bro^r George Do..			12	0	0
	By Colo Muse towards surveying			15	0	0
	By George Washington Do Do			15	0	0
	By Ditto advanced for Mr Jno West....			6	0	0
Oct 9th	By Lieut Jno Savage for his advance.....			6	0	0
16	By Colo Stephen in part for his			4	12	6
1771	By Mr Henry Fry Acct of his Father Colo Fry deceased — his proportion of the advance....			15	0	0
				£88	12	6

Washington's ledger account covering his Tour to the "Kanhawa" in 1770

—*From Transcript of* Dr. J. M. Toner.

This brought Washington to the ford of the Youghiogheny, at present Somerfield, Somerset County, Pa., and was, "we found, a tolerably good days work."

"Set out at sunrise," says Washington, on the thirteenth, "breakfasted at the Great Meadows 13 miles off" where the party passed through the noted glades of the Alleghenies, which has been pointed out as "the one bright sunny point in a hundred miles of mountains." Pushing on they passed Braddock's grave, which Washington tried to locate; descended Laurel Hill; and after passing the home of Thomas Gist, near present Gist, Fayette County, Pa., (where the party stopped on the return) they reached the home of Captain Crawford "about five o'clock" in the evening.

Captain William Crawford, who now became a companion on the tour, was born 1732, in Orange County, Virginia. He gained the friendship of Washington while the latter was engaged in surveying in the Shenandoah Valley for Lord Fairfax in 1749. Crawford took part in the French and Indian war, being noted for his bravery, and was long a prominent character in the life of the frontier, serving under Washington during part of the Revolution. He died a deplorable death, on June 10, 1782, in the ill fated expedition against the Sandusky Indians. His relations with Washington are admirably covered in C. W. Butterfield's "*Washington-Crawford Letters.*" Crawford lived at Stewart Crossing, now New Haven, opposite Connellsville, Pa. It is one of the historic spots of Fayette County, and was named for William Stewart who settled there in 1753, where the old Catawba Indian Trail crossed the Youghiogheny. Washington had visited the place on his journey to the Ohio in 1753; in 1765 the ownership passed to Crawford, who in 1786 sold it to Edward Cook.

On Sunday, the fourteenth, Washington, with no thought of the great coal development of the future in the

vicinity, writes, "Went to see a coal mine not far from the house on the banks of the river. The coal seemed of the very best kind, burning freely, and an abundance of it."

Monday, the fifteenth, found Washington on his way to view about 1600 acres of land which Crawford had selected for him along the Youghiogheny. Some lands selected for his brothers, John and Samuel, were also inspected, after which he returned to Crawford's where he was joined by Col. Adam Stephen.

On Tuesday, the sixteenth, the day was spent at Crawford's. "One Mr. Ennis who had traveled down the Little Kanawha" appeared and gave some information relative to lands on that stream; and Washington further records that "I also saw a son of Captain John Hardin, who said he had been from the mouth of the Little Kanawha to the big," but his descriptions led to doubt that he had ever seen them. In the evening the party moved forward to the home of Major John Stephenson, on Jacob's Creek, Fayette County. Stephenson was a half brother of Crawford, served in the French and Indian war, and settled at this point about 1768.

On Wednesday, the seventeenth, Washington, Dr. Craik, Captain Crawford, and others arrived at Fort Pitt. "We lodged in what is called the town," says Washington, "distant about 300 yards from the Fort at one Mr. Samples who keeps a very good house of public entertainment—these houses which are built of logs and ranged in streets are on the Monongahela and I suppose may be about 20 in number and inhabited by Indian traders, etc. The Fort is built in the point between the Rivers Allegheny and Monongahela but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is 5 sided and regular, two of which (next the land) are of brick; the others stockade. A mote encompasses it. The

garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by one Captain Edmonson."

On Thursday, the eighteenth, Washington dined in the Fort with Colonel George Croghan and the officers, "meeting with great civility from the gentlemen and engaged to dine with Col. Croghan the next day at his seat about 4 miles up the Alleghany."

Croghan on Friday sent a message to Washington informing him that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations desired to meet him at his home about eleven o'clock. Accordingly, Washington repaired to the Croghan home, where the White Mingo delivered a speech in which he welcomed him to the West, recalling Washington's embassy to the French, and desiring friendship with the Virginians. A string of wampum as evidence of good faith was presented. Washington in turn thanked him for the friendship expressed and commented on the trade relations.

After engaging a young Indian warrior, an Indian called "the Pheasant," and Joseph Nicholson, an interpreter, to accompany the party down the river, Washington returned to Fort Pitt.

The party embarked on the river voyage, on Saturday, October 20th.. Washington says:

> "We embarked in a large Canoe with sufficient store of provisions and necessaries and the following persons (besides Dr. Craik and myself) to-wit: Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, Daniel Reardon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawfords with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Col. Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton and one Mr. McGee set out with us; at two we dined at McGees,"—possibly McKees, near Dead Man's Island.

The first night was spent four miles above Logstown; the travelers "breakfasted at the Logstown, where they parted from Croghan about nine o'clock."

Logstown was an important Indian site about eighteen miles below Pittsburgh on the right bank of the Ohio. Originally Shawnee, it gradually became a large mixed village but was deserted by 1784, and is now a part of Economy, Pa. About 11 a. m. Washington's party passed Big Beaver River, and about five miles lower down passed Raccoon Creek; the comment is made that "All the land between this creek and the Monongahela and for 15 miles back is claimed by Col. Croghan, under a purchase from the Indians."

George Croghan was a native of Ireland and commanded the first English expedition that descended the Ohio. He served as a captain in Braddock's expedition, and for some time was deputy agent for the Ohio Indians. He died near Pittsburgh, in 1782.

About three miles below the mouth of Little Beaver Creek, Washington says, "we encamped after hiding a barrel of biscuit in an Island (Brown's Island) to lighten our canoe."

In the first snow storm of the season, the party set out about 7:30 a. m., of October 22nd. Brown's Island, Yellow Creek, Will's Creek, were passed and duly commented on, as well as some of the adjoining lands. Evening found the travelers at the Mingo Town, now Mingo Junction, two miles below the site of Steubenville, Ohio. This town took its name from the Indian tribe of that name, and an Indian trail led from it to the upper Muskingum country. Washington records, "this place contains about twenty cabins and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations," and further notes that "we received the disagreeable news of two traders being

killed at a town called the Grape Vine Town, 38 miles below this."

On Tuesday, October 23, further reports relative to the alleged killing continued to come in, arousing in the party some fears which were augmented by the fact that there was then in the Mingo town a party of sixty warriors of the Six Nations on their way to the Cherokee country to attack the Catawbas. After a conference, the journey was resumed about two o'clock; Cross Creek was passed and the camp for the night established at a stream designated by Washington as "Fishing Creek," probably near Yorkville, Jefferson County, Ohio.

"On Wednesday 24th," says Washington, "we left our encampment before sunrise and about six miles below it we came to the mouth of a pretty smart creek coming into the eastward called by the Indians 'Split Island Creek' from its running in against an Island." Turning to the table of distances in the formal journal, we find that this stream is designated as "Weeling or Split Island Creek," on the "E" side, and certainly refers to Wheeling Creek, which passes through Wheeling, West Virginia, directly opposite Wheeling Island. Strange as it may seem, no mention is made of Wheeling Island, or of a settlement at this point, although it is recorded on the twenty-third that "we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia had marked the land from hence all the way to Redstone." This may have been a reference to Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan Zane, who had in 1769 made the first clearing and laid the foundation of Wheeling. Fort Fincastle was erected here in 1774 and under the name of Fort Henry suffered a severe attack in 1777, and a later one in 1782, during which the Indians advanced under the British flag. The site today bears a marker setting forth that here was fought the last battle of the Revolution. Washington, therefore, on this

journey visited the site of what is claimed to be the first and last battle of the war in which he was personally to lead the American colonies to freedom.

"Six miles below this (Wheeling) again," continues Washington, "we came to another creek on the West called by Nicholson, Wheeling," which was evidently confused in name with Wheeling Creek, Ohio, the stream coming into the Ohio at Bridgeport. "About a mile lower down appears to be another small water coming in from the east side, which I remark because of the scarcity of them and to show how badly furnished this country is with mill sites."

From Wheeling Creek the journey continued; Big Grave Creek was passed and mentioned—"up which is near way by land to the Mingo Town," being an early path from present Moundsville to Mingo Bottom. "About a mile and a half below this again comes the Pipe Creek, so called by the Indians from a stone which is found here out of which they make pipes." Three miles down, "Fox Grape Vine" or Captina Creek was reached, on which, eight miles up, was located the "Grape Vine Town." Some of the party went up to the town, finding there only two squaws who allayed their fears for safety by informing them that the basis for the murder story was simply the accidental drowning of a trader who attempted to cross the river. "About five miles from the Grape Vine Creek" continues Washington, "comes in a very large creek to the eastward, called by the Indians Cut Creek (Fish Creek) from the town or tribe of Indians, which they say was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations." Camp was made for the night near the middle of the "Long Reach" where "we threw out some lines and found a catfish of the size of our largest river catfish hooked to one of them in the morning, though it was one of the smallest kind here."

On Friday, twenty-sixth, the party left camp about 6:30 a. m., passing, about four miles on the west side, a small stream that comes in opposite Wilson's Island. "The long reach" Washington says, "is a straight course of the river for about 18 or 20 miles, which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio is generally remarkably crooked." There are several islands (five) in this "reach" which extends from near Raven Rock to above Paden City, West Virginia. "Three Brothers islands" were soon passed, and the party camped just above the mouth of the Little Muskingum. It is recorded that it was the "only day since the 18th that it did not rain or snow."

On Saturday, twenty-seventh, the party left camp, soon passed Duck Creek and Kerr's Island (formerly known as Devol's or Meigs') and four miles below came to the mouth of the beautiful Muskingum River. This, he says, "is about 150 yards wide at the mouth, a gentle current and clear stream runs out of it, and is navigable a great way into the country for canoes." On the lower or southern bluff at its mouth was erected in 1785, Fort Harmar, the site of which has been almost completely absorbed in the intervening years by the Ohio. In low water, the old well at the Fort can be discerned in the river's edge at the junction. On the northern bank rose the historic city of Marietta, whose history is so much a part of the story of the great Northwest Territory.

The journey continued down the Ohio, the distance to the Little Kanawha being set down as 13 miles. As it is just 12½ miles, this is a very accurate estimate; but an examination of the "table of distance" prepared by Washington shows such accuracy in all of his statements. The Little Kanawha, he says, is about as wide as the Muskingum but much deeper, and "runs up towards the inhabitants of the Monongahela and according to the Indians forks about

40 or 50 miles up it." The "forks" were of much interest to Washington. The streams meet with considerable comment in his ideas for a Western waterway, so well treated in Hulbert's "*Washington and the West.*" It was his idea to create a portage from the Indian Town of Bulltown, on the head waters of the Little Kanawha, across Lewis County, West Virginia, to the West Fork of the Monongahela, and thence to the Cheat, etc.

"About 6 or 7 miles below the mouth of the Canhawa," continues Washington, "we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indians called Hockhocking," a name it still bears. It has been recorded by various writers that it is singular that no mention is made of Blennerhassett Island, the largest in the Ohio, renowned in history because of its connection with the ambitions of Aaron Burr. But such statements are not absolutely correct, and it is well to make some mention of the changes wrought by time.

George Croghan records that on May 20, 1765, he proceeded down the Ohio from the mouth of the Little "Conhawa" to the mouth of the (Great) "Hockhocken" or "Bottle River," and passed by five very fine islands. These would have embraced the five known to have existed and named at times, as Blennerhassett, Four Acre, Towhead, Newbury, and Mustapha. It seems evident that Washington passed the head of Blennerhassett without observing the Virginia channel, which was used by navigators until recent years, when changes were made in the canalization of the Ohio. Washington observes that before he arrived at the Little Hockhocking "we passed another small creek on the same side near the mouth of the River and a cluster of Islands afterwards."

It is quite evident that the "small creek" mentioned was Putnam's Run, now Davis Run, so named for Aaron Waldo

Putnam, prominent in the settlement at Marietta, Ohio. It joins the Ohio on the west just below the center of Blennerhassett Island. The "cluster of Islands" would not have been observed until Washington's party had proceeded down the river to the foot of the large island, when, would have come into view, the "Four Acre" lying in the Virginia channel, and "Towhead" just below. Both of these existed within the memory of residents now living, and both have now become a part of Blennerhassett Island. The old river channel can be discerned by new timber growths. The large island in the "cluster" first bore the name of Backus, from Elijah Backus, editor of the *Ohio Gazette*, of Marietta, who bought it from James Heron, of Richmond, agent of Alexander Nelson. It later passed to Herman Blennerhassett, who named it the "Isle de Beau," and erected thereon his "palace in the wilderness." It has been alleged, however, that Washington first owned it, and further, that he included it in a "Tomahawk entry" made on this journey.

About seven o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, Washington and his party broke camp at the present Harris Ferry, in Wood County, opposite the mouth of the Hocking River. The land between Lee's Creek and Pond Creek receives mention in his journal. After passing Belleville Island an Indian Camp came into sight at the mouth of Pond Creek. Of the meeting that followed Washington records:

> "Here we were under the necessity of paying our compliments, as this person was one of the Six Nation Chiefs and the head of them upon this river. In the person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction in seeing me and treated us with great kindness, giving us a quarter of fine buffalo. He insisted upon our spending the night with him, and in order to retard us as little as possible moved his camp down the river about 6 miles just below the

mouth of a creek, the name of which I could not learn (Shade River, Meigs County, Ohio?) at this place we all encamped."

Kiashuta and his followers thereafter held an all night council. Early on the morning of the twenty-ninth, they made a ceremonious appearance at Washington's camp, requesting peace, friendship and trade with the Virginians. Washington records a "tedious ceremony which the Indians observed in their counsellings and speeches" and which delayed the travelers until nine o'clock.

The journey down the Ohio continued; the party passed Muse's Bottom, the creek now bearing Washington's name, and Buffington's Island, connected with Morgan's Raid in the Civil War. A pavement of rocks in the river bed visible until recent years is mentioned. The site of Ravenswood was passed and Towhead Island reached. The bottom lands at this point and on Mill Creek, West Virginia, are mentioned. Washington records that here is the beginning of the "Warriors Path to the Cherokee Country." George's Island, just above Mill Creek, is mentioned; this in the intervening years has been almost annexed by the West Virginia mainland. The party camped just below Island 44 and 45 at Letart Falls.

On Tuesday, the thirtieth, Washington in his methodical way records that "we set out at 50 minutes past seven, the weather being windy and cloudy." The lands as usual received his attention, but he also paused to set down some observations concerning the river relative to the swiftness of the river and its narrow bed.

Continuing past the sites of Mason City, Pomeroy, and Middleport, Washington landed about the mouth of Ten Mile Creek and made a personal inspection of the land around present Maggie, Mason County. Here he wrote, "we also found many shallow ponds the sides of which

abound in grass, inviting innumerable wild fowl among which I saw a couple of birds in size between a swan and a goose, and color somewhat between the two, being darker than a young swan and of a more sutty color; the cry of these was as unusual as the bird itself, as I never heard any noise resembling it before." This, it would seem, was Washington's first sight of the Great Northern Diver, or Loon. The journey resumed, the party camped below present York, Mason County, "just by the old Shawnee town" which was above the mouth of Old Town Creek.

On Wednesday, the thirty-first, Washington writes—"I sent the Canoe along down to the junction of the two rivers about five miles, that is the *Kenhawa* with the Ohio—and set out upon a hunting party to view the land. We steered nearly east for about 8 or 9 miles then bore Southwardly till we came to our camp at the confluence of the two rivers." This apparently involved a journey to the headwaters of Oldtown Creek, West Virginia, over the divide to Crooked Creek and down that stream to the site of Point Pleasant. It marked the southernmost point ever reached by Washington in the Ohio Valley; four miles above the site of the French settlement at Gallipolis, Ohio, and forty miles above the site of Huntington, West Virginia. Here for the first time Washington saw the Great Kanawha which resembled an estuary of a lake created by the broad Ohio. In 1749, De Celeron, for the French, had buried a plate at the junction, the Kanawha being termed the Chinondaista. Gist examined some of the land thereabouts in 1752 for the Ohio company and the "point" was called by the Shawnees "Tu-Endie-Wei," signifying the "junction of two rivers." All around towered gigantic forests clothed in the livery of the autumn season, and here, on October 10, 1774, was fought the engagement between Andrew Lewis' division of Lord Dunmore's army and the

Indians, which is by many regarded as the first battle of the revolution. In 1775 Fort Randolph was erected at this point to protect the frontier.

On November first, "A little before eight o'clock," records Washington, "we set off with our Canoe up the River to discover what kind of lands lay upon the Kenhawa," concerning which he makes some entries and references. "We judge we went up the river about ten miles today," he continues; and on the second day further notes, "we proceeded up the river with the canoe about four miles more, and then encamped and went hunting, killed five buffaloes and wounded some others—three deers, etc. This country abounds in Buffalo and wild game of all kinds, as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the bottom a great many small grassy ponds or lakes which are full of swan, geese and ducks. Some of our people went up the river four or five miles higher, and found the same kind of bottom on the west side and we were told by the Indians that it continued up to the (Kanawha) Falls, which they judged to be 50 or 60 miles higher up."

The party camped about one mile below present Arbuckle Station, Mason County, a mile above the mouth of Fourteen Mile Creek, and forty-six miles below the site of Charleston, West Virginia. On Saturday, the third, Washington continued:

> "We set off down the river on our return homewards and encamped at the mouth; at the beginning of the Bottom above the junction of the Rivers and at the mouth of a branch of the East side I marked two Maples, and an Elm and Hoopwood tree as a corner of the soldiers land (if we can get it) intending to take all the bottom from hence to the rapids in the Great Bend (Letart Falls) into one survey—I also marked at the mouth of another Gut lower down the west side (at the lower end of the long bottom) an Ash and Hoopwood for the beginning of another of the Soldiers Survey to extend up so as to

include all the bottom (in a body) on the west side" (of the Kanawha River).

From the starting point, a line was later run up the Kanawha to the mouth of Three Mile Creek, then in a zigzag line to a point on the Ohio, one mile below Letart Falls, then following the Ohio River to the point of beginning. This survey contained eighty square miles and was afterwards subdivided among the patentees as follows (including the present site of Point Pleasant for Andrew Lewis): George Muse 5000 acres; Peter Hogg 5000 acres; Andrew Stephens 8000 acres; Peter Hogg 2000 acres; George Muse another, of 5026 acres; Andrew Waggener 3400 acres; John Poulson 6000 acres; John West 6000 acres.

Below the Kanawha, a tract of 13,532 acres was secured by Hugh Mercer; and, on the Kanawha, Washington inspected a part of a tract he later acquired. Every one of the men, it is believed, was with Braddock at the battle on the Monongahela.

On Sunday, November fourth, Washington and his party embarked on the journey home, pausing to examine the land opposite the mouth of Campaign Creek, Gallia County, Ohio. Here "we met a Canoe going to Illinois with sheep —at this place also we met a sycamore about 60 yards from the river of a most extraordinary size," measuring about 45 feet around. After passing Mason City "horseshoe bottom," he writes, "we entered into the 3rd bottom and incamped. This bottom reaches within a half a mile of the rapid at the point of Great Bent," which would make it appear that the camp was about the mouth of Broad Creek, above New Haven, West Virginia.

On Monday morning, the fifth, some of the party with the canoe proceeded up the river while Washington, in

company with Captain Crawford, landed on the Ohio shore, perhaps below the mouth of Tupper's Run. Following the hills, the two men walked across the Big Bend, a distance of about eight miles. It would seem that the boat was again boarded above the present Ripley Landing and that the party encamped for the night near Towhead Island.

The journey was resumed on the sixth, and Washington writes, "we left our encampment a little after daylight and in about 5 miles came to Kiashuta's Hunting Camp," which had been removed to the mouth of a stream he believed to be called Buffalo Creek, the location of which is somewhat uncertain. Here "by the kindness and idle ceremony of the Indians I was detained at Kiashuta's Camp all the remaining part of this day," engaging in considerable conversation relative to the lands on the Great Kanawha.

For a number of years the items of the journal covering Washington's movements for the next ten days were not available. Jared Sparks, in his *Writings of Washington*, relates that "for the succeeding ten days the manuscript journal has been so much injured by accident it is impossible to transcribe it. The route, however, continued up the Ohio River, which was much swollen by the rains." The fact is that the edges of the original are mutilated; in later years Hulbert and Fitzpatrick made new transcripts of the entire journal and the mutilated portion. From it one can glean enough to follow the travelers quite clearly.

On the seventh of November, the party moved up the river about twenty miles to the mouth of the Hocking River, the name which was derived from Hockhocking (Bottle River), the local Indian name for a bottle shaped gourd, to which they compared the course of this stream. Here the party again camped near Harris Ferry, West Virginia. Washington noted that a Delaware hunting party was

encamped on the opposite Ohio shore. Little did Crawford then realize that he would return here in 1774 with a detachment of Lord Dunmore's army. At this place Dunmore's troops—supposed to have joined the division commanded by Lewis before the battle of Point Pleasant—left the Ohio for the interior, erecting on the northern bank of the Hocking a stockade designated as Fort Gower.

On Wednesday, the eighth, the party set out as soon as "we could clearly distinguish the rocks" and made about twenty-seven miles, arriving at the mouth of the Little Hocking, which, it is recorded, "can be easily distinguished by a large stone at its mouth," that still marks its entry into the Ohio. The wide bottom lands on the West Virginia shore then received attention; these later became Washington's property. To this day the large expanse of level land is called "Washington's Bottom," and extends almost from Newberry Island to Blennerhassett. Continuing, the party passed Blennerhasset Island, possibly by the West Virginia channel, and arrived at the mouth of the Little Kanawha.

"At the mouth of the Kenhawa," writes Washington, "Captain Crawford, one of the Indians, and myself, left the canoe, intending to meet again at the mouth of the Muskingum about 13 miles above." It seems probable that the route led from what is now called the "Point" in Parkersburg, up Worthington's Run and across the divide through the vicinity of Henderson. Washington indicates that the Indian guide made some mistakes "and brought us to the river ———— miles below it," (Muskingum); this Hulbert points out as being Williams Creek, one mile below present Williamstown. Observation led Washington to believe that 30,000 acres might be had in this vicinity, but it was not all satisfactory land. The night was spent where now stands the town of Williamstown, opposite the site of Fort Harmar, or West Marietta. "The night proving very

rainy and morning wet," records Washington, on the ninth, "we did not set out until ½ after ten o'clock and encamped by the three Islands," a distance of seventeen miles. These islands were somtimes called the Three Brothers, but generally Eureka, Broadback and French Islands, and are near Belmont, West Virginia. Landing, the party engaged in a bear hunt, "which gave us an opportunity of seeing a little of the land."

After a night of storms the journey was resumed on Saturday, the tenth, about noon; the party moved up about twelve miles to the "Long Reach." Camping near the mouth of Ben's Run, West Virginia, Washington records that every little stream was adding to the flood in the Ohio, "the river rising very fast and grown so muddy as to render the water irksome to drink."

On Sunday, the eleventh, he notes that "last night proved a night of incessant rain, attended with thunder and lightning," but in his small journal Washington says, "11th —came about 18 miles, working hard all day." Camp was established above the mouth of Fishing Creek, possibly on the site of New Martinsville.

On Monday, the twelfth, the river was rising very fast and the party "got only about five miles, the current being very strong." They possibly arrived about the mouth of Proctor Creek, Wetzel County. The slow progress resulted in a conference in which "we came to a resolution ordering our horses (which by appointment were to be in Pittsburgh on the 14th inst) to meet us at Mingo Town." Valentine Crawford had charge of the horses and on the morning of the thirteenth an Indian was sent forward to inform him of the decision. The party then "with difficulty got about five miles further to the mouth" of a stream designated as the "broken Timber Creek," which appears to be Sunfish

Creek, opposite Well's Bottom, Marshall County, West Virginia. About three o'clock in the afternoon the party met "two Battoes and a large Canoe going at a very fast rate to Illinois, with provisions for the garrison at Fort Chartree."

On Wednesday, the fourteenth, the river began to fall. The party left camp "about an hour by sun" and made about eleven miles not "finding the river so strong as Yesterday," and going into camp that evening about Captina Island. About two miles below the mouth of Captina Creek, Ohio, Washington landed on the Ohio shore and "walked through a neck of as good land as I ever saw, the land on the hill sides as rich as the bottom."

On the fifteenth, the "Canoe set off at sunrise," as Washington left the camp, possibly near the mouth of Fish Run, West Virginia, to inspect the land lying in the Round Bottom, opposite the mouth of Pipe Creek, Ohio, which land he later acquired. The journey continued until they reached, as Washington says in his small journal, "Wheeling (on the west) where there had been an Indian town, and where some of the Shawnees are going to settle in the Spring." It seems from the table of distances that this stream so designated by the Indian interpreter was Weegee Creek, opposite Glendale, West Virginia.

The movements of the travelers on the sixteenth are somewhat obscure. It is recorded that the party on that day got within thirteen miles of the lower Cross Creeks (Short Creeks, West Virginia, and Ohio) which would indicate that camp for the night was made near or on the site of Wheeling. The day seems to have been spent in examining the lands on the West Virginia side around the Benwood section on Wheeling Creek.

The formal journal for the day is incomplete. From the Hulbert transcript of the damaged portion, with some words apparently missing, it would read in part:

> "Directing the Canoe to meet Crawford and me at the mouth of the (creek called) by the Indians Split Island Creek, and which I have since found is one distinguished by the people of Redstone, etc. by the name of Wheeling, I set out with Captain Crawford on foot to make a view (of the land a little distant from the river). In doing this we ascended hills (found) to be almost impassable. Coming on Split Island Creek some miles from the mouth, we had (an opportunity) of observing from the hills which are very high."

On Saturday, the seventeenth, the journey was resumed about eight in the morning. Passing Buffalo Creek just below the site of Wellsburg, Washington notes, "a creek I neither see nor remarked in going down," and above it "is a bottom of exceeding fine land." The Cross Creeks in West Virginia and Ohio were passed in the early afternoon, and about "three o'clock," he says, "we came to the town (Mingo Town) without seeing our horses, the Indian (which was sent express for them) having passed through only the morning before. Here we resolved to wait their arrival which was expected tomorrow, and here then will end our water voyage."

The few hours spent here permitted Washington to reflect over his journey and to write down a general resume which gives a splendid description of the early Ohio. It likewise covers, in a large measure, the numerous daily observations of land which have been largely deleted from the narrative.

He says:

> "There is very little difference in the general width of the river from Fort Pitt to the Kanawha but the depth I believe the odds are considerably in favor of the lower parts, as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one of two places

where the river was broad, and there, I do not know but there might have been a deep channel in some parts of it. Every here and there are islands, some larger and some smaller, which, operating in the nature of locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water alongside of them. However none of these is so swift but that a vessel may be rowed or set up with poles. When the river is in its natural state, large canoes, that will carry five or six thousand weight or more, may be worked against the stream by four hands, twenty or twenty-five miles a day; and down a good deal more. The Indians, who are very dexterous (even their women) in the management of canoes, have their hunting camps and cabins all along the river, for the convenience of transporting their skins by water to market. In the fall, so soon as the hunting season comes in, they set out with their families for this purpose; and in hunting will move their camps from place to place, till by the spring they get two or three hundred or more miles from their towns; then catch beaver in their way up, which frequently brings them into the month of May, when the women are employed in planting. The men are at market, and in idleness, till the autumn again, when they pursue the same course. During the summer months they live a poor and perishing life.

"The Indians who reside upon the Ohio, the upper parts of it at least, are composed of Shawnees and some of the Mingoes, who, getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the lands eastward of the Ohio, view the settlement of the people upon this river with an uneasy and jealous eye and do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the section of the Six Nations. On the other hand, the people of Virginia and elsewhere are exploring and marking all the lands that are valuable, not only on the Redstone and other waters of the Monongahela, but along the Ohio as low as the Little Kanawha; and by next summer I suppose they will get to the Great Kanawha at least. How difficult it may be to contend with these people afterwards it is easy to be judged from every day's experience of lands actually settled, supposing these settlements to be made; than which no thing is more probable, if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the people at present. A few settlements in the midst of some of the large bottoms would render it impracticable to get any large quantity of land together; as the hills all the way down the river, as low as I went come pretty close, are steep and broken, and incapable of settlements (though some of them are rich) and only fit to support the bottoms with timber and wood. The land back of the bottoms, as far as I have been able to judge, either from

my own observations or from my own information, is nearly the same, that is, exceedingly uneven and hilly; and I presume there are no bodies of flat, rich land to be found, till one gets far enough from the river to head the little runs and drains, that come through the hills, and to the sources of the creeks and their branches. This, it seems is the case with the lands upon the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, and I fancy holds good upon this river, till you get into the flat lands below the falls. The bottom land differs a good deal in quality. That highest up the river in general is richest; though the bottoms are neither so wide nor so long as those below. Walnut, Cherry, and some other kinds of wood neither tall nor large but covered with grape vines, with the fruit of which this country at this instant abounds, are the growth of the richest bottoms; but on the other hand, these bottoms appear to me to be the lowest and most subject to floods. The sugar-tree and ash mixed with walnut, compose the growth of the next richest low grounds; beech, poplar, and oaks the last. The soil of this is also good, but inferior to either of the other kinds; and beech bottoms are objectionable on account of the difficulty of clearing them, as their roots spread over a large surface of the ground and are hard to kill."

On Sunday, the eighteenth, Washington engaged in a business transaction in which he bargained, he says, "with two Delaware Indians to carry our Canoe up to Fort Pitt for the doing of which I was to pay 6 dollars and give them a tin can." On Monday, the nineteenth, the horses failed to arrive and he records, "the day appeared long and tedious" and was mainly occupied in gathering information from Nicholson relative to lands along the lower Ohio and in the Illinois country.

The horses arrived on the twentieth, and "at two," he records, "we set out and got about ten miles, the Indians travelling along with us." The route probably led up Harmon Creek, West Virginia, thence across the head of Raccoon Creek, down Robinson Creek to Chartier's Creek, Pa.

On Tuesday, the twenty-first, he says, "reached Fort Pitt in the afternoon, distant from our last encampment

about 25 miles," and "stayed at Pittsburgh all day (22nd) invited the officers and some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples." "Among was one Dr. John Connelly, a nephew of Colonel George Croghan." Connelly, it developed, had been in the Illinois country, and Washington with his customary energy made many inquiries which he set down.

"Dr. Connelly," he says, "is so much delighted with the lands and climate" on the Shawnee River, "that he seems to wish for nothing more than to induce 100 families to go there to live, that he might be among them. A new and most desirable government might be established there."

On Friday, November twenty-third, "after settling with the Indians and people that attended me down the river, and defraying the sundry expenses accruing at Pittsburgh," Washington set off on his return home, dining at the "Widow Miers," on Turtle Creek, and reached the home of John Stephenson, on Jacob's Creek, where he spent the night. The next day (Saturday) he continued to Stewart's Crossing (New Haven, Pa.) where a delay of some hours took place, owing to the river being too high to ford, and to its "raining and snowing hard all day;" part of the day and night was spent with Captain Crawford.

On Sunday, the twenty-fifth, Washington set out "early in order to see Lund Washington's land, but the ground being covered with snow" was not able to view it well. Sunday dinner was taken with Thomas Gist, a son of the pioneer Christopher Gist, at his home at the foot of Laurel Ridge, below Braddock's Grove; afterwards, the party proceeded to "the Great Crossing at Hoglands" (Somerfield), arriving there about eight o'clock in the evening.

Killam's, on George's Creek, was reached on Monday, the twenty-sixth; there Washington records, "we met

several families going over the mountain to live" and "the snow upon the Allegheny mountains was near knee deep." From Killam's the party moved forward, "breakfasting with one Mr. Innis, at the new Store opposite" Fort Cumberland, and arrived at Colonel Cresap's, at Oldtown, on the evening of the twenty-seventh.

The journey was resumed on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth. The party crossed the Potomac at Cox's and proceeded to the home of Henry Enoch for dinner. Enoch was an early settler in Hampshire County (West Virginia), at the forks of the Great Cacapon River, on the road from Winchester; a fort was erected here in November, 1755, after Braddock's defeat, for the protection of the settlers. The night was spent at "Jasper Rinkers." The party separated on Thursday, the twenty-ninth; Washington "set out early and reached my brothers (at present Charles Town) about one o'clock. Doctor Craik having business in Winchester went that way, to meet at Snickers tomorrow at 10 o'clock."

Accordingly on Friday, the thirtieth, says Washington, "the Doctor and I met and after breakfasting at Snickers, proceeded on to Wests where we arrived at or about sunset," and on Saturday, December first, "reached home being absent from it nine weeks and one day."

CHAPTER III

WASHINGTON ACQUIRES LANDS ON THE OHIO AND GREAT KANAWHA

ASHINGTON, after his return to Mount Vernon from his tour to the Ohio and the Great Kanawha, continued with unabated energy his efforts on behalf of the members of the Virginia Regiment, as well as the furtherance of his own plans.

In March, 1771, a meeting of the men interested in the "military land" grants was called at Winchester. Washington arrived on the fourth, the following day rendered his accounts, and made his reports relative to his journey down the Ohio River. On the evening of the sixth he set out for the home of his brother, Samuel, at "Harewood." Here he spent five days in company with Captain William Crawford, "the surveyor of our 200,000 acres of land," going over details in this connection and writing out instructions and orders. On the eleventh he left the present Charles Town vicinity for Mount Vernon. Indeed, an examination of the voluminous Washington material of that period shows quite clearly that the allotment and settlement of lands in the Ohio basin overshadowed all else.

Crawford, under the general direction of Washington and Thomas Lewis (who married Jane Strother, a schoolmate and friend of Washington), surveyed most of the lands on the Ohio and the Kanawha. In addition to the authority conferred upon him by Executive Council in 1769 and 1771, he was also commissioned by the College of William and Mary, a deputy surveyor for Augusta County, in place of Christopher Gist, deceased.

On August 2, 1771, Crawford advised Washington, "I have run out the different tracts of land described in your memorandum (March, 1771) between the Little Kanawha and the Big Kanawha, and that tract above the Captina, or opposite to Pipe Creek. It is not large. I have not made out the drafts yet, nor shall I do so until I come down to your house."

Washington records, on October 10, 1771, that Captain Crawford arrived in the afternoon, and on the eleventh "still at home all day platting and measuring the surveys which Captain Crawford made for the officers and soldiers."

It appears that the officials of the then county of Fincastle rather regarded the surveying activities of Crawford as encroaching upon the territory to be handled by them, and a certain amount of friction arose. This is further evidenced by a letter from Thomas Lewis, written to Colonel Preston, on May 15, 1774, wherein he refused to record and sign some surveys made by Crawford; it is further observed that Crawford had secured an assistant surveyor's commission through "Colonel Washington."

The action of Lewis was later brought to the attention of William and Mary College officials, possibly by Washington. On March 22, 1775, John Camm wrote Preston that the college authorities were highly displeased by the action of the surveyors of Augusta, Botetourt and Fincastle, in regard to surveys made by Crawford. To this Preston replied on April 18, 1775, attempting to explain the actions of the county appraisal and declaring that they had no intention of offending the college, or of bringing any charges against Crawford or his surveys.

It was scarcely to be expected that the astute John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, would allow to pass unnoticed the opportunity for self-

profit in these lands. Quite soon he made known his hope to visit this region in person, and the spring of 1773, found him making arrangements to have Washington accompany him on the proposed journey.

This arrangement was satisfactory, Crawford being highly recommended as a guide because of his knowledge of the country. However, on account of the death of his stepdaughter, Martha ("Patsy") Custis, Washington was prevented from making the journey. Dunmore went without him, and visited Crawford; both profited as Butterfield points out, "The Earl in getting reliable information of desirable lands; Crawford in obtaining promises for patents for such as he had sought out and surveyed." The subject of a grant at or on the Little Kanawha was considered and Dunmore agreed to issue a patent when the survey might be presented.

Washington, in the furtherance of his plans, bought up numerous claims of his fellow officers. That his dealings in this connection were always fair and honorable need not be questioned. "The unequal interest and dispersed situation of the claimants," he wrote to George Mercer, "make a regular co-operation difficult. An undertaking of this kind cannot be conducted without a good deal of expense and trouble; and the doubt of obtaining the lands, after the utmost efforts, is such as to discourage the larger part of the claimants from lending assistance, whilst a few are obliged to wade through every difficulty, or relinquish every hope . . . . . what inducement have men to explore uninhabited wilds, but the prospect of getting good lands? Would any man waste his time, expose his fortune, nay, his life, in such a search, if he has to share the good and bad with those that come after him? Surely not."

The correspondence with Crawford furnished further evidence. From Mount Vernon, on September 25, 1773, Washington in part wrote:

"I have heard (the truth of which, if you saw Lord Dunmore on his way to or from Pittsburgh, you possibly are better acquainted with than I am) that his Lordship will grant patents for lands lying below the Scioto, to the officers and soldiers who claim under the proclamation of October, 1763. If so, I think no time should be lost in having them surveyed, lest some new revolution should happen in our political system. I have, therefore, by this conveyance, written to Captain Bullitt, to desire he will have ten thousand acres surveyed for me, five thousand of which I am entitled to in my own right, the other five thousand by purchase from a captain and lieutenant.

"Old David Wilper,[1] who was an officer in our regiment and has been with Bullitt running out land for himself and others, tells me that they have already discovered four salt springs in that country; three of which Captain Thompson has included within some surveys he has made; and the others, an exceedingly valuable one, upon the River Kentucky, is in some kind of dispute. I wish I could establish one of my surveys there; I would immediately turn it to an extensive public benefit, as well as private advantage. However, as four are already discovered, it is more than probable there are many others; and if you could come at the knowledge of them by means of the Indians, or otherwise, I would join you in taking them up in the name or names of some persons who have a right under the proclamation, and whose right we can be sure of buying, as it seems there is no other method of having the lands granted; but this should be done with a good deal of circumspection and caution, till patents are obtained.

"I did not choose to forego the opportunity of writing you by the gentlemen who are going to divide their land at the mouth of the great Kenhawa though I could wish to have delayed it till I could hear from the Governor, whether he would grant patents for the land which Captain Bullitt is surveying, that one may proceed with safety."

Bullitt, in the meantime, had been surveying lands in Kentucky, without any authority from Governor Dunmore. Just how much land Washington finally acquired it is difficult to ascertain. As late as 1794, in a letter to Presley Neville, the ownership of 32,372 acres is recorded, but not all on the Ohio. Lord Dunmore, on September 24, 1773, declared that he would not grant any lands on Western waters; but from the following advertisement, which

[1] David Woelper, a captain in Washington's regiment in 1754.

appeared in the *Virginia Gazette*, and also in *Maryland Journal*, and *Baltimore Advertiser*, of August 20, 1773, it is quite clear that Washington had already secured about 20,000 acres on the Ohio and Great Kanawha:

MOUNT VERNON IN VIRGINIA
July 15, 1773

The subscriber having obtained patents for upwards of twenty thousand acres of land on the Ohio and Great Kanawha (ten thousand of which are situated on the banks of the first-mentioned river, between the mouths of the two Kanawhas and the remainder on the Great Kanawha, or New River, from the mouth or near it, upwards, in one continued survey) proposed to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired, and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years rent free, provided, within the space of two years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot, and proportionably for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled; and that, by or before the time limited for the commencement of the first rent, five acres of every hundred, and proportionably, as above, shall be enclosed and laid down in good grass for meadow; and moreover, that at least fifty fruit trees for every like quantity of land shall be planted on the premises. Any persons inclinable to settle on these lands may be more fully informed of the terms by applying to the subscriber, near Alexandria, or in his absence to Mr. Lund Washington; and would do well in communicating their intentions before the 1st of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand.

As these lands are among the first which have been surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to premise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil, or convenience of situation, all of them lying upon the banks either of the Ohio or Kanawha, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowl of various kind, as also in most excellent meadows, many of them (by the bountiful hand of nature) are, in their present state, almost fit for the scythe. From every part of these lands water carriage is now had to Fort Pitt, by an easy communication; and from Fort Pitt, up the Monongahela, to Redstone, vessels of convenient burthen, may and do pass continually; from whence by means of the Cheat River, and other navigable branches of the Monongahela, it is thought the portage to Potowmack may, and will, be reduced within the compass of a few miles, to the great ease and convenience of the settlers in transporting the produce of their lands to market.

To which may be added that as patents have now actually passed the seals for the several tracts here offered to be leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the lands in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled counsels respecting a new colony on the Ohio; and as no right money is to be paid for these lands, and quitrent of two shillings sterling a hundred, demandable some years hence only, it is highly presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing than where both these are laid on with a very heavy hand. And it may not be amiss further to observe that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio in the manner talked of should ever be effected, these must be among the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of soil, and the other advantages above enumerated, but from their continuity to the seat of government, which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

George Washington.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDS ON THE GREAT KANAWHA

ASHINGTON, it is true, appeared to have some claims to lands on the Great Kanawha prior to the execution of a formal grant, and, inasmuch as surveys had been made, his right to the property could scarcely be questioned. There is on file in the Library of Congress an original plat, covering eight military surveys on this stream, one of which is located entirely on the waters of the "Pokatallico" River. The plat covers the entire course of the river for fifty miles from the mouth of Tyler Creek to its junction with the Ohio; the surveys and other data are all signed by Crawford, and Washington has added certain memoranda.

The Mason County Land

The first survey made for Washington was designated as "No. 1," and was made in June, 1771, by Crawford, assisted by John Custard, George Cox, William Jackson, Marcus Hardin, and Joel Rees. The boundary of land was patented in the name of Washington, on December 15, 1772, the survey "beginning at an ash and hoopwood tree standing at a point below the mouth of a river (creek) on the south side of the Great Kanawha, about two miles above the confluence of the said river with the Ohio," etc. Washington records that "it borders on the river seventeen miles and one poles," the survey embracing 10,990 acres in the then Fincastle County; Crawford in his report observes that "the reason the survey was so narrow is this—that the land is generally so scraggy, steep, and rocky, that I could not survey it any further from the river than I have done."

The boundary embraced all the bottom lands on the south side of the Kanawha from Two-Mile Creek at Lock 11, in Mason County, to the Putnam County line, near Lock 10, above the mouth of Sixteen-Mile Creek, including the present day communities of Beech Hill, Southside, and McCausland.

The lower part of this land had been inspected by Washington on the tour in 1770. Located in the heart of the old proposed state of Vandalia, it was but a few miles from the capital site as originally planned. It was also the location of Washington's sole attempt at settlement and improvement on the Kanawha, an attempt abruptly closed by the Revolution. The story is one of the interesting annals of the Kanawha Valley.

Among the men in the employ of Washington at Mount Vernon was James Cleveland, a native of the Shenandoah Valley. In 1769 it is recorded that he cared for the hunting dogs, and he also often furnished teams and wagons for work on the estate. On January 10, 1775, he was appointed "overseer" of the Ohio and Kanawha lands; also, Washington bargained with him to go to the Kanawha regions to make improvements on his holdings.

Washington then prepared sealed instructions, and in order to secure assistance for Cleveland, on the 26th, "stayed in Alexandria all night and bot. a parcel of servants." These were men who voluntarily obligated themselves to work for a certain length of time in order to pay passage to America. The men were taken to Mount Vernon, where some delay took place during which time Cleveland became ill.

William Stevens was then selected to head the undertaking. Washington, on March 6, wrote out "instructions" in which he related that "as Mr. James Cleveland, whom I

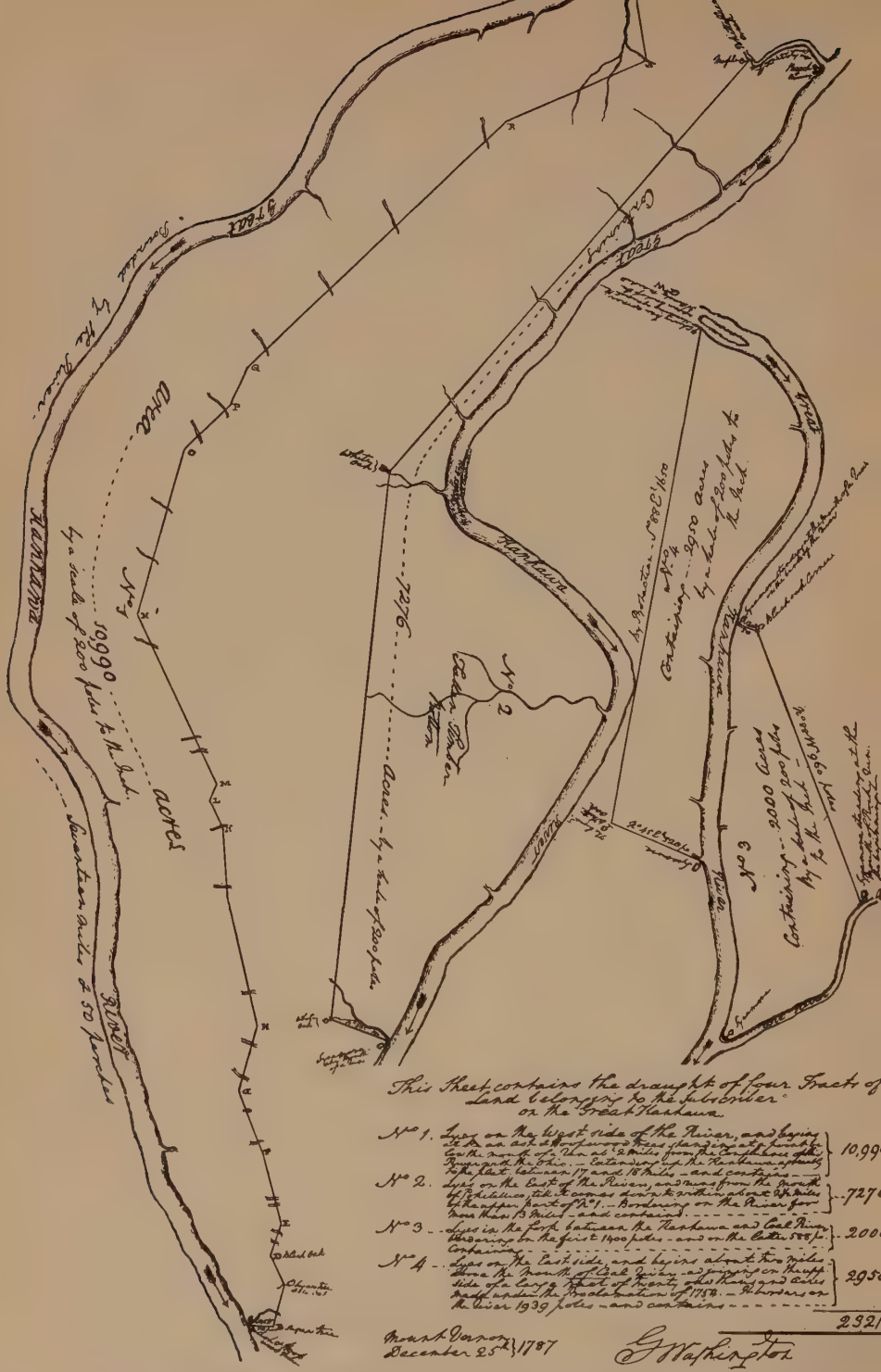
have employed to take charge of my business on the Ohio, is rendered unable at this time by sickness to proceed out with my people, I must commit the care and management of them and the business to you, until he can follow, or till you can hear further from me." Stevens is directed to proceed to Gilbert Simpson's on the "Yohigany," where canoes, tools, and equipment will be found.

The land to be improved runs along the Great Kanawha for seventeen miles, beginning two miles from the mouth, and the improvement to be made near the "middle." Every diligence is to be used to put up houses in which to live during the planting season; to "get as much land as possible ready for corn;" and to consult "Major Crawford about a hunter and secure a good one." As soon as the plantation is fixed, two thousand "peach kernals" are to be planted, and in the meantime guard against the servants escaping, "but do not let them know it." Stevens is further admonished to "leave with Gilbert Simpson an exact list of everything carried down the river, though never so trifling," and to "write frequently."

On March 7th Washington recorded, "I set my people off for the Ohio, under the care of William Stevens;" "Captain Wood went away and Dr. Craik went up with Lund Washington to see Jas. Cleveland."

Stevens conducted the party only to western Pennsylvania and returned before the close of the year. Soon after Cleveland recovered, and by April 5th arrived at Simpson's, where he assumed charge of the party and proceeded down the Ohio.

He seems to have had a certain confusion as to the location of the property, referring to it as the "big bend," a term applied to the "Millwood tract" on the Ohio. His situation at best was precarious, the great battle of the



From original group map in collection New York Historical Society, courtesy Mrs. I. Tilney. Survey of Washington's lands on Great Kanawha River, in present Mas Putnam and Kanawha counties, West Virginia.

border at "Point Pleasant" having been fought but a few months before. His experiences are graphically portrayed in the three letters extant, written to Washington, which are here included.

May 12th 1775
Kanhawa at the great bend

No 7

Sir

These few lines come to let you know that we are all well && And on April 5 I got to Gilbert Sympsons where I found all the hands and nothing ready but what I gave you an account of but the articles hear after menched; one canoe made by your one hands, two do made last year; 9 axes so I bought one cannoe of Sympson at 20 and one more I got which made five with my one. after I had got loaded I found I could not tacke in all so I left three barls of corn which I hope you would bring with you. Capts Crawford came over to me just as I was ready to set of & and said he thought I was loaded to deap & would have me to tacke one of Mr. John Wests (?) I did refuse to do it at first as my letter was sealed but remembering your instructions was to consult him, but I had reason to wish I had not for it was stove tho I could not see it so I was obliged to leave . . . . . me so I tacke white & he turns out well as yet I tuck him after the letter was sealed. If you have got any of the letters they are all numbered but the first & about on the 10 of the same instant I embarcked for the Canhawa but the winds were so high I could not go above half time on the 18th of the same instant I had the miss fortain to loos the left cannoe & and six barels of corn, one gun; on the 22nd of the same instant I got to the land then I set the hands to hewing and fixen, that no time might be lost. I proseded to search out a place I spent three dayes before I could fix on the spot cald the big ben & on the 26th day of the same instant I got to the spot where I proseded as directed. First the peach carnals potatoes seads corn. That night two of the sarvents run away by warter I set out with five hands & the night after I got back with them; on the 3 day of this instant five of them run away. I proseded with fore hands down the Ohio as low as giandot. By this I thought I must have past them then I made to search the Indians shore whear I got the head man & a rifel which he had stole from the camp. he said they had set out for pense-cole? but saw me pass them they concluded to go to the shawne town on great marsh? kingdom as he had been lost five dayes from the rest I thought I could ketch them before they could git to the town so I marchet a day but found I could not by the

tracks so I returned to the camp to provide for the jurney & this day sets out to the town the best road? In the last voige was worter and wil weads which made William Skilling & one of Stefens hands give out & and we are two dayes & half before they made the camp. the sarvents Keeps me & the hird hands huntting of them. I am building a house to lock them in of nights as there is no other way to keep them till you come out & see what is to be done for this place would not doe for sarvents was not my orders at stacke I should have given up for the time I loos is more than they are worth I have the porest set of hands that I ever saw & at this time has but 28 bushels of corn out Meat is all out & game is as scace hear as it is in Loudoun so that we have no meat & the fish would not bite or there is none to bite. You know how many hands you have hear Stefenes has got all his hands & I think they are good. I hired one hand so you are abel to judg how long our corn would last I have searcht myself for game but finds there is none to speak of in less than 25 or 35 miles & that right threw the hiles where hardele a man can go. I have been by worter but finds no game, the hunters are not at fault. I was told fish would be very plenty soon if so I shall want lines As I have hunters and game is to be had at a great distance I am resolved to mack all I can by skins when they are in season. If we ketch fish I would be glad to have some flower but this or corn must be had for all hands & there is none to be had near er than green briar which is two far so I shall mack the best of what I have till you come out and see what you can bring for us. I have put between 15 & 20 acres in corn which is all I can tend as I have bot 8 hoes and them stumps one of which is brock. The lands hear is the worst to clear that I ever saw and as you would see when you come out I am a mind to trip which is the speediest way building or clearing. I am shore that clearing is if it weare not so bad with treas scrubes & at this time the weads & grass is wast high & some (?)

As I have not got much done yet and am at a great distance from you it may appear to you that more might be done but you must not think that ther is any time lost while I am hear that can be helped had the sarvents not run away might have had more done. the peoples close be wore out except britches & hats by the faul shues may be had hear. This garrosn I understand is to be brock up. There is plenty of mataxes for sail hear a 100 head of cattel five cowes and calves. Cpt. Russel sayes he thinks they would sell as high as three pounds or three pounds ten each I have not seen but I have no money or I would by some of them. I intend to try to by some of them & draw on you for the cash. I have had some talck with him about it he has promised to let me have a few of them.

If I can get them you should bring flower out with you it would make up for this bad liven. This letter would soon come to hand if you should not approve of it let me know it as soon as you can it would be about 5 or 6 weakes before they are sold. If I find that they go at the price that some thincks they would I shall try to by the whole that you would not want I would keep if you please but let me know by the first letter you send to me I all so intend to by mataxes as I have but two there is no hilling hoes & we want some.

We have done one house & directed to praise as we go. I think I have three of the most proper hands sworn before Capt. Russell Majistrate of Fincastle county to praise the worck done on this tract.

(Handwriting of Cleveland—not signed)

Indorsed.

"J. Cleaveland—inclosing a list of things got of V. Crawford"

Addressed to

"Mr. George Washington, Esq.
Mount Vernon,
Farfax County

per favr of Mr. Roberts"

May 21st 1775
kanhawa great bend

Sir—I am so well sattesfied that you have got the last letter that I shall not right so full as I should if I thought that could fail as I give you a full a count of my procedens & that the sarvents plaged me much at that time fore of them ware gone to the Indians town and that day I should set out after them but concluded to send Stefenes after them & he returned to me last night with two of them & the man that I have sent with him as a failer is gone one to the other town as these two ware so fare spent that they could hardele git hom & are know both of them sick & so pore that if they live they would not be abel to worck in less than ten days. The best account I can give you is that one of them is starved to death, he could not swim, they left him without fish tacklen & an they were 17 days out so that he must be dead but if he could git to any of the towns I shall git him becaiuse I have got Capt. Russell to right to the king of the Indians & he has promised if any of his hunters comes a cross him he shall be brought in safe but I think he is dead for when the rest left him he was most spent, his name is Edward Ca—— & John Baley & Weaver (?) & Stefenes & William Trase the head man this trip he is a good hand or I would sell him. the other fore when I stand by cant do as much as he can but ten pounds is the most that I have

been ofered of them and that M—— boy so that I do not know what to do but as they would not stay at home & good for nothing when there & all the hired hands wore out I am resolved to part with them this you would be a loser. The time after them is more as I have lost 49 days after them besides expenses so that my improvements is small as yet but small as they are ther has been no lost time nor shall not bee while I live. I have got but 25½ bushels of corn at this time & none to be had hear I hope you would be hear soon and bring us corn or flower & I thinck flower as cheap as corn because in broth it goes further & that is chief of our diet when we can git anything to mack it. I am building know & hope to right better to you next time I have had so much time that my worck done is not worth menchon so I conclude

Your to command

JAMES CLEVELAND.

NB Pray let me know how matters stands between Great Britton & America

Indorsed "From Mr. James Cleveland 21st May, 1775"

Addressed "To George Washington esq

Farfax county Mount Vernon."

June 7th. 1775 Canhawa great bend

Sir

These lines come to let you know I go on with improven First I cleared & got in corn abots 20 or 25 acres or more which is more than I wrote before. I have bult (fence ?) as much as it would be praissed at about 160 pounds by the men that is to praise it as the lands is hard to clear & rail timber very schasse I find from expearance that buld in is the best way. I have wrote so much about the servents that I shall say no more about them as I got all them from the townes but one & the king brought him a cross the Ohio to Fort Blare but before I could git their he had swam over so that I have him to go after again & as I have lost 60 od dayes all ready I am resolved not to fetch him home again. I must take? anything I can git again these that are hear I am obliged to watch. I wrote to you that one of them must be drownded but the Indians saved his life so I have got him again. The time lost and expences is more than I can sell them for. I have but 12 bushels of corn at this time & know meat to be hard & the hands threatenes to run away know & when there is no bread they will not stay & so I think it left to Frie (?) to git some down & and as I am ablige to send up to the botomes I have sent three of the sarvants to Major Crawfords & directed him to sell them on the best terms he can. I have no cash to send for provisions but gives & order

on you which I expect will doe if not to bring the corn I left at Sympsons? & if got to leave & exact account of it & all that I have bring so that when you call for it you may know what stock I have. Cpt. Russell who has assisted me in gitting of the sarvents, has also promised me salt and some meat & three cowes the it is due to his directions letter No 9 I thought to bought all the cattel but as the Indians at this time is not sattesfied about the lands? or wars on the white skulps? that they got last year. I shall not by anything I can do with thout the improvement season Two small which makes me desires that you should come out as soon as possible you can. But if the affares of America would not admit of that right very full to me about your affares hear & all so let me know is ther when you look at the worock done right That fore of the hands has done nare days work since they came hear & lost time I know they must go by warter for it is as much as they can doe to walk know As I have menchioned in the letters before bout close some of which will come to because I in closed them to Wm Johnson? & yr favour of Wm. Roberts Lewtenant

yours to command
JAMES CLEVELAND

Sir please to bring me a quiar of paper when you come

Captain William Russell, who is mentioned in the letters by Cleveland was prominent in the affairs of Fincastle County. The tract of land was within the boundaries of Fincastle from 1772 until 1776, when that county ceased to have an existence, and became a part of Botetourt County. Captain Russell was a justice of the peace of Fincastle County, and commanded a company in the army of General Andrew Lewis during Dunmore's War, participating in the battle of Point Pleasant. At the time of "Cleveland's Settlement" he commanded the fort at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River.

According to the records of Fincastle County, preserved at Christianburg, Virginia, Cleveland appeared before the county court of Fincastle on April 2, 1776, with a certificate from Captain Russell reciting that William Stevens, George Aubry, and John Clemonds had been sworn to value the property for taxes and that "the valuation of the improve-

ments amounting to eleven hundred pounds, fifteen shillings, seven and one-half pence, together with the above mentioned certificate is ordered to be recorded according to law." This certificate throws considerable light on the work done by Cleveland. With the original spelling retained it reads as follows:

Aug. 4, 1775. This day being called upon by James Cleveland for in behalf of George Washington, Esq. of Virginia & County of Fairfax to praise & to value work & improvements made on a certain tract of land lying on the lower or south side of the Great Kanawa in Fincastle county & known by the quantity it contains ten thousand nine hundred & ninety acres as may be further be made appear by the patent & being first sworn as the law directs we the subscribers to all for as heafter mentioned,

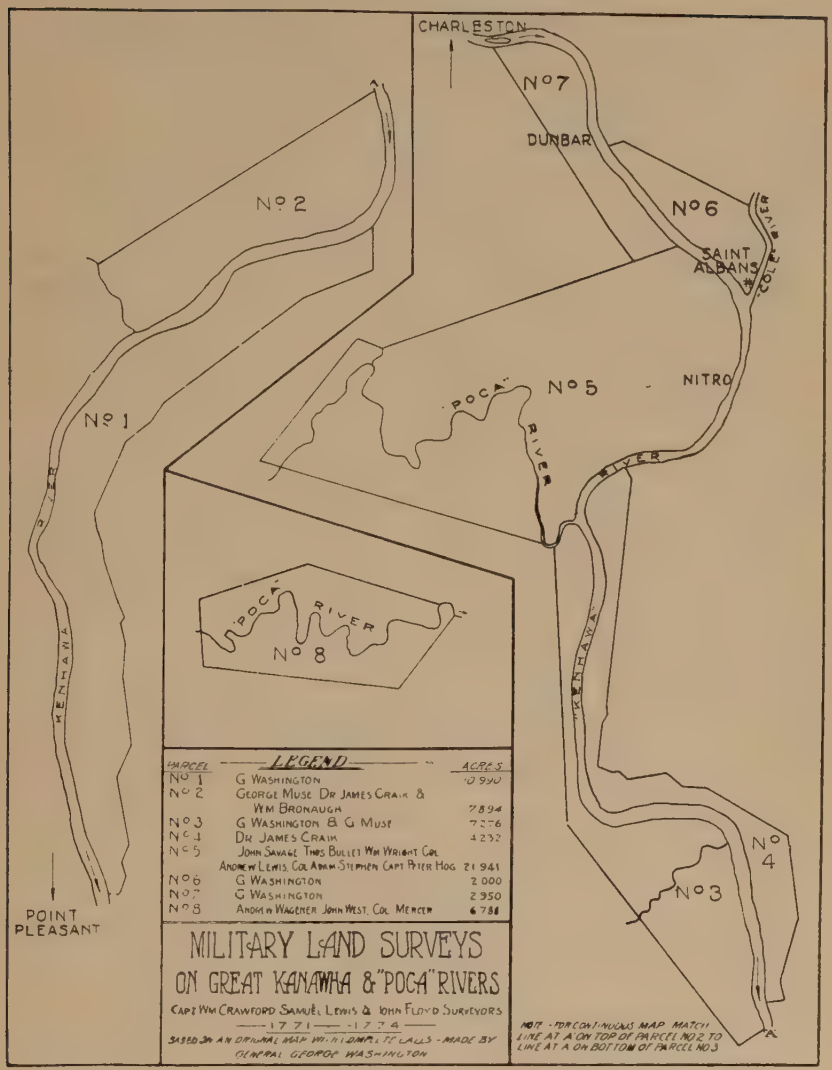
No 1	To dwelling house 40 x 16 ft 3 rooms below 2 above with passage 8 ft wide	375- 0-0
No 2	Is a dwelling house 42 x 16 ft 2 rooms below & 2 above a passage 10 ft wide	375- 0-0
No 3	Is a dwelling house 44 x 16 ft 2 rooms below & 2 above, a passage 12 ft wide	200- 0-0
No 4	Is intended for a barn 46 x 16 with stables on the broad side, work done on it worth	93- 0-0
No 5	Is a house 12 x 8 ft	10- 0-0
No 6	Is a house 16 x 8 ft	10- 0-0
No 7	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 8	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 9	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 10	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 11	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 12	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 13	Is a house 12 x 12 ft or cabbin	5- 0-0
No 14	Is a house 14 x 13 ft or cabbin	2-15-7½
	L	1100-15-7½

N. B. Also 28 acres of land cleared & well tilled & on it a large crops of corn, potatoes & turnips. As witness our hands.

Geo. Aubry
John Clemonds
Wm. Stevens

N. B. There is near 2000 peach stone cornols planted on said tract of land. Witnes my hand.

James Cleveland.



It is to be seen from this record, which is, in fact, a report of the work at a "settlement" under the direct charge of Cleveland, that considerable progress had been made in the clearing of the land and a number of buildings had been erected. What might have been accomplished had not the

American Revolution intervened is a matter of conjecture. As it was, nothing came of the attempt. At least seventy-five miles from the settlements up the Great Kanawha River, and with the small protection of the fort at the mouth of the Kanawha, which was soon deserted, there was nothing to do but abandon the project. It is assumed, in the absence of any records so far located, that the Indians destroyed the buildings.

Washington believed that the "No. 1" tract on which Cleveland attempted an improvement was located about two and one-half miles below his acreage below the mouth of the Pocatallico River. As a matter of fact, the distance was greater. Between the two, adjoining the upper end of the large tract, on the north side of the Kanawha, a survey of 7,894 acres was made in the names of George Muse (100) Dr. James Craik (1794) and William Bronaugh (6900). Adjoining on the south side was a survey of 4000 acres in the name of Dr. Craik, embracing "Fraziers Bottom." This on some old maps is designated "Dr. Gregs survey."

This tract under the partition agreement of 1802 was surveyed and divided into nine lots. Designated as survey "D" the calls were run and found to contain 10,549 acres rather than 10,990 as stated in the patent. "Lot 5" embraced the lower or Point Pleasant section, and was allotted to the heirs of Fielding Lewis.

In order and continuing up the river:

No. 9—1200 acres—Washington, Lewis and Custis
No. 10—1207 acres—Lawrence Lewis
No. 11—1202 acres—William A. Washington
No. 12—1180 acres—George A. Washington Heirs
No. 13—1100 acres—William A. Washington for children
No. 14—1100 acres—Col. John Thornton
No. 15—1100 acres—Robert Lewis
No. 16—1100 acres—Thornton Washington

One of the first transfers from the heirs of these tracts took place September 20, 1808, when George Washington, Parke Custis and Mary Lee, his wife, of Alexandria, transferred 140 acres and 59½ acres, a part of "division nine" located on the "Kenhawa," at the mouth of "five mile creek" to John and Archibald Boyd, of Mason County. The consideration was $500.00 paid to William Sterret, "attorney in fact." Adjoining land was leased for some time to Henry S. Dade, of Fauquier County, acting under power of attorney, executed September 16, 1814, by Robert Lewis, Jr.

Lot No. 11, owned by William A. Washington, in 1810, passed to Philip Long, of Page County, Virginia, who became one of the first permanent settlers thereon. Much of this lot is still in the hands of Long's descendants. Records still refer to it as the "military survey"—as late as 1857, G. D. Camden, administrator of the estate of Stephen Goodhue, advertised for sale a boundary beginning "at a sugar tree corner to Washington's survey of 10,990 acres on the Kanawha, and a survey of Henderson on the said river and the Ohio."

The Pocatallico Survey

The "Poca River Tract" was surveyed in July, 1773, by Crawford, assisted by Providence Mounce, Martin Hawood, and Joseph Lacock. The survey began "at the mouth of the Pocatallico—a beach and hiccory standing in the point lower side, being a corner to a survey made on Pokatallico for 21,941 acres." It was patented in the name of George Muse for 3,323 acres, and George Washington for 3,953 acres; Crawford recorded on the plat that "the whole now belongs to G. W.," and embraced a total of 7,276 acres, located in the (then) Botetourt County.

A survey of 21,941 acres with the same beginning point adjoined on the upper side and embraced all of the section around present Nitro, extending up to a later survey made for Washington. This was patented in the name of John Fry, Hoff, Savage, Stephen, and others entitled to "bounty lands" on December 1, 1773. Lewis Summers (1808) mentions "Blakes Tavern" on this or the "Fry Military Survey." Ex-Governor George W. Atkinson, in his history of Kanawha County, relates that two nephews of Washington resided on this tract "opposite the mouth of Scary Creek" for a number of years, but there is no evidence that it belonged to the Washington lands at all.

The "Poca survey" embraced all the bottom and much of the hill land from the mouth of Pocatallico River, at Raymond City, to Wood's Station below the mouth of the Little Buffalo Creek on the north side, opposite Frazier's Bottom. It was, records Washington, bounded by the river "12 miles and 227 poles." The fact that the name of Muse is here associated with Washington is of great historical interest, as it illustrates quite clearly the honest manner in which Washington treated all men with the slightest claim to military bounty lands. Colonel Muse, it has been recorded, was Washington's early instructor in military science. In the Braddock Campaign he was accused of having acted the part of a poltroon, and the Virginia assembly omitted his name in the vote of thanks. Washington did his best to assist him in acquiring lands, but Muse was not satisfied, writing him a very rude letter in reference to the amount allotted him.

To this Washington replied in part:

> I am not accustomed to receive such from any man, nor would I have taken the same language from you personally, without letting you feel some mark of my resentment. I advise you to be cautious in writing me a second in the same

> tenor; for, though I understand you were drunk when you did it, yet give me leave to tell you that drunkenness is no excuse for rudeness. But for your stupidity and sottishness you might have known by attending to the public gazette that you had your full quantity of thousand acres of land allotted you—that is, nine thousand and twenty-three acres in the great tract, and the remainder in the small tract—and all my concern is that I have engaged myself in behalf of so ungrateful and dirty a fellow as you are.

The "great Tract" referred to a "military survey" of 52,302 acres on the Ohio, the "small tract" may have referred to Muse's Bottom (927 acres) on the Ohio, or his interest in an adjoining survey on the Great Kanawha. This land was selected by Crawford; in Washington's judgment he overlooked some choice adjoining lands, or at least so reported. When Crawford's attention was directed to this fact, he wrote Washington from Spring Garden, on November 12, 1773, in part as follows:

> Sir, I received yours of July 27, September 25 and 26, in one of which you blame me for not discovering those lands nearly opposite to the other surveys on the Kanawha. The two bottoms below the mouth of the Porketahio (Poca River) I did see but the land on that stream I did not see, but sent the men I had hired to search and see what sort of land it was, whilst I was running the other side, but they deceived me and told me there was no land worth taking. They then went on the same and made some small improvements with the intention of holding it, but have since left it. I have surveyed some of the land . . . . . As to your chance in your lots of land, I think it much the best on the whole river, from one end of the survey to the other . . . . . most of your surveys have all bottom as also Dr. Craiks land, (Belleville Bottom, on the Ohio, and Fraziers Bottom on the Kanawha) . . . . . I wrote you relating to the upper survey on the Great Kanawha. I think you have not apprehended me in what I wanted. There is the full quantity of two hundred thousand acres and six hundred over and above.

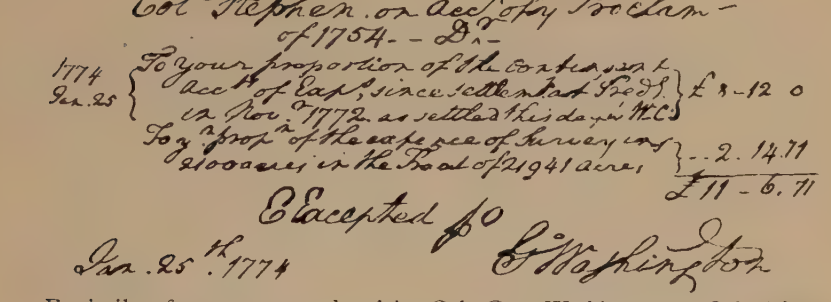
The meaning of the reference to the "upper surveys" according to Butterfield and others, is not clear. No correspondence or papers, pertaining thereto have been found.

It would seem that Crawford desired to secure a large boundary of land in one tract which he would cover by purchased land warrants, and in this desired the help of Washington.

This tract, listed as survey "E" in the partition papers was divided into three lots. Ownership of lot 17, embraced in the land between the mouth of Big and Little Buffalo, passed to Howell Lewis. It was surveyed as 1,531 acres. The next lot, number 18, containing 2,233 acres, was allotted to Samuel Washington. Lot 19, embracing the upper section to the mouth of "Poca" River, contained 3,110 acres, was allotted to Lawrence A. Washington.

Samuel Washington and "Dorothea, his wife, of Culpeper County," on May 10, 1807, sold 2,233 acres of this survey to Joseph Lewis, Jr., of the County of Loudoun, for the consideration of $17,864.00. The land is described as being in Mason County, on the "east side of the Kenhawa river," a line crossing "Big buffaloes," according to a survey of Robert McKee, made in November, 1804, of "lot eighteen." The deed was proved in court in Culpeper on September 21, 1807, but was not certified to the officials of Mason County until August 17, 1811, or recorded until January 7, 1812.

Lawrence Augustine Washington, a son of Samuel Washington, a full brother of General Washington, who resided at *Harewood*, Jefferson County, now West Virginia, took up his residence on the "Poca survey" in 1811. He married Mary Dorcas Wood in 1797, a daughter of Robert Wood, of Hawthorne, in Winchester, Virginia. On January 10, 1814, the Virginia Assembly granted him the right to construct a dam in the Great Kanawha River, in the (then) county of Mason, at "Red House Shoals," where he resided.


Colo Stephen on acct of my Proclam-
of 1754 - - Dr -
1774 Jan. 25 To your proportion of the contingent
acct of Exp, since settlement Fredk
in Nov 1772 as settled this day p WCS £3 - 12 0
To 2 prop of the expence of surveying
2100 acres in the Tract of 21941 acres - - 2. 14. 11
£11 - 6. 11
Accepted p G Washington
Jan. 25th. 1774

Facsimile of statement rendered by Col. Geo. Washington to Col. Adam Stephen for share of expense of surveying land on the Great Kanawha River

From original owned by J. Charles Hall, Charleston, West Virginia

The Coal River Tract

Washington's lands above the mouth of Coal River and above the Elk were not surveyed until 1774 and 1775. At the same time other surveys for "bounty lands" were made under the general direction of Col. William Preston, who, in January, 1774, issued the following notice, published in the *Maryland Gazette*, of March 10, and a few other periodicals:

Fincastle County, Virginia.
January 27, 1774.

Notice is hereby given to the gentlemen, officers and soldiers, who claim land under his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, who have obtained warrants from his Excellency the right honorable the Earl of Dunmore, directed to the surveyor of Fincastle county, and intend to locate their land on or near the Ohio, below the mouth of the Great Kanawha or New River, that several assistant surveyors will attend at the mouth of the New River on Thursday, the 14th of April next, to survey, for such only as have or may claim his lordship's warrant for that purpose.

I would therefore request that the claimants, or their agents, will be very punctual in meeting at the time and place above mentioned, properly provided with chain-carriers and other necessaries, to proceed on the business without delay. Several gentlemen acquainted with that part of the country are the opinion that to prevent insults from strolling parties of Indians there ought to be at least fifty men on the river below the Great

> Kanawha to attend to the business as the gentlemen present may judge most proper until it is done, or the reason prevent them from surveying any more. Should the gentlemen concerning be of the same opinion, they will doubtless furnish that or any less number they may believe necessary. It is hoped the officers of their agents who may have land surveyed, particularly such as do not reside in the colonies, will be careful to send the surveying fee when the certificates are demanded.
>
> WILLIAM PRESTON,
> Surveyor of Fincastle County.

In the face of many rumors relative to the ill temper of the Indians in the Ohio basin, the party of surveyors set out for the Kanawha valley on April 7, 1774. John Floyd (who resided with Preston), a deputy surveyor, was in direct charge. After passing Kanawha Falls, the party paused at the "burning springs," mentioned elsewhere; the mouth of the Elk and the site of Charleston were soon reached, and April 18 found the party at the mouth of "Cole" river.

Here Thomas Hanson, a member, records:

> We surveyed 2,000 acres of land for Col. Washington, bordered by Coal River and the Canawagh. Mr. (A. S.) Dandridge crossed Coal River and lost himself, which put Mr. Floyd to a great deal of trouble to find him in the night. Mr. Taylor and his company joined us, we caught a catfish that weighed 40 pound.

The party by April 26 was at the mouth of the Little Guyandotte, on the Ohio, now the boundary line between Cabell County and Mason County. Here Floyd wrote Preston a letter in which he stated that he had forwarded a plat of Washington's survey in a recent letter. On the twenty-seventh, Alexander Spottswood Dandridge reached the same point and the party now numbered thirty-three men. On May 15th, Dandridge wrote Preston that "according to your instructions Mr. Floyd surveyed for Col. Washington 2,000 acres of land and sent a plat of the same in a letter to you by Thomas Hogg."

Preston, on May 27, then wrote Washington from "Fincastle" that "agreeably to my promise I directed Mr. Floyd and assistant to survey your land on Cole River on his way to the Ohio which he did and in a few days after sent me the plat by Thomas Hogg."

It seems that the surveyors in the field in 1774 had the impression that Washington himself would visit the Kanawha Valley during the season. May 1, Captain Thomas Bullitt, one of the party and later the owner of the site of Charleston, wrote Preston inclosing some surveys and mentioning that Washington was expected to come west of the mountains to look after the land. The visit never materialized. It is interesting to note that Washington in 1775 wrote Bullitt not to have any trouble with any claimants of lands, "even with those who had no right to lands" at all.

The survey of Washington's "Cole" River tract was made on April 18, 1774, and began at a "tree at the mouth of a draft on the bank of Cole River, marked G. W."—thence followed the meanders of that stream to the mouth thereof and up the Kanawha River "1400 poles" to the mouth of Two and Three-Quarters Mile Creek; thence back to the point of beginning. It "is bounded by the two rivers," records Washington, "5 miles and 88 poles."

The grant to Washington was issued on April 12, 1784, by Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, to cover 2,000 acres, located in "Green Bryer, formerly Fincastle County, by right of Lord Dunmore's warrant," issued and assigned for the "services of Charles Thurston as a lieutenant" in the Virginia service. The warrant for the survey was issued to Lieutenant Charles Mynn Thurston, on November 25, 1773, and was sold by him to Washington. This tract, listed as survey "E" in the partition was divided into two lots. Number 20 embraced the land at the junction

of the Kanawha and Coal River amounting to 1,311 acres. Possession passed to Alexander Spottswood who had married Elizabeth Washington. The upper section as lot 21, containing 880 acres, was allotted to Francis Peyton who had also received part of a survey on the Ohio.

According to Stephen P. Capehart (1905), the first permanent settler on the Coal River Tract was Morris Hudson from Pennsylvania, who in 1808 acquired a section of land just below Two and Three-Quarter Mile Creek. Samuel T. Washington married a member of his family, was a local resident for a time, and later removed to Mason County. Lot No. 20, in the 1805 allotment, became the property of Elizabeth Washington, the wife of Alexander Spottswood. In June, 1810, 300 acres of this tract of 1,311 acres embracing the section next to the Hudson holdings, was sold for $1500. In October, 1814, Spottswood and his wife conveyed the residue of the tract, or 1,011 acres, to Philip Root Thompson, of Culpeper County, Virginia, for $7,500. He, in 1816, established his home at Coals Mouth, which in time became the town of St. Albans.

At The Mouth of Tyler Creek

On November 6, 1774, a tract of 2,950 acres was surveyed by Samuel Lewis, located on the Kanawha, on the opposite side of the river from the Coal River tract and above it. This tract began on the "N. E. side of the Kanawha about a mile and a half above the mouth of 'Cole' River and adjoining the upper end of the Poketallico survey" of Fry, Hogg, Savage, and others, and following the meanders of the river "1939 poles to a large cherry tree standing against the upper end of an island." This island, known as Tyler Island, lies just below the mouth of Tyler Creek, near Charleston, West Virginia. The "cherry tree" has long since disappeared, torn up by floods rather than by

a "little hatchet." The survey embraced all the river bottom and much of the hill lands on which the town of Dunbar is now located, and bordered on the river, Washington records "6 miles and 19 poles." The patent was not issued until April 12, 1784, being then executed by Governor Harrison for the military services of "George Washington, of Mount Vernon, as a colonel, according to the terms of the King of Great Britain's proclamation dated at Saint James, 1763."

In the partition as survey "G" it was divided into two lots. Number 22 containing 1,330 acres was allotted to Thomas Hammond. The upper section, as lot number 23, containing 1,336 acres was allotted to Corbin Washington's heirs. This tract, patented in April, 1784, was once advertised as containing 3,000 acres, but seems to have really embraced 2,630 acres. On January 17, 1815, Richard and Henry Lee Washington, of Fairfax County, transferred to Bushrod Washington, of Jefferson County, now West Virginia, one-third of 1,330 acres on the Kanawha River opposite Tyler Island, which was a part of 2,630 acres belonging to George Washington, and known as lot No. 23 in the partition of the estate.

The balance of the tract as lot No. 22 (Thomas Hammond) came into the possession of Samuel Washington, who, it appears, took up his residence there about 1816. In a deed of trust dated June 27, 1816, and executed to David Briggs, to secure one Robert Dunbar certain debts, Samuel Washington conveys, subject to certain conditions, a number of slaves, property in Charles Town, (W.) Va., and household goods, as he is "contemplating the settlement of all his affairs and moving from Fredericksburg to the upper or back country." On May 1, 1827, the said Samuel Washington, then of Kanawha County, (W.) Va., transferred 1,300 acres

to Samuel Washington, Jr., who had been to much expense by reason of litigation, and "being the same which was allotted to the said Mrs. Mildred Hammond, under the will of General George Washington." Mrs. Hammond was a daughter of Charles Washington, a brother of General Washington. She married Captain Thomas Hammond and had issue, Charles Washington Hammond, who died in early youth. She died in 1805, or before the execution of the partition deed covering the Kanawha lands, leaving a will that bequeathed her interest to her husband for life, to their children thereafter, and in default of children to her brother Samuel and his children.

This Samuel Washington was the only surviving son of Charles Washington, and left numerous descendants in the Kanawha Valley.

The Burning Springs Land

Washington's property at the "burning springs" above the city of Charleston has been the subject of much tradition and conjecture. The springs were first discovered by Captain Matthew Arbuckle, Rev. Joseph Alderson, and John and Peter Van Bibber, who came down through the Kanawha valley, in 1773, from Wolf Creek Fort. The tract was surveyed on May 26, 1775, "beginning at two red oaks on a Noel," on the east side of the Kanawha River, thence along the river a short distance, to take in the bottom land embracing 250 acres, "including the burning springs."

In connection with this property, it is interesting to note the statement of Leonard Morris—then eighty-six years old—in a land case in the Circuit Court of Kanawha County, in 1815, in which Lawrence A. Washington was plaintiff, and Eli Jarrett and Joseph Fletcher defendants. Morris, being produced as a witness for the plaintiff, testified:

> In the year 1775 this deponent was residing on Kanawha River, about six miles from Burning Springs tract. During that year Messrs. Samuel Lewis, a surveyor, Colonel John Stuart of Greenbrier, and Thomas Bullitt, were on the Kanawha surveying lands, and procured from out of this deponent's family Mingo Price and his son as chain carriers; that after the party returned from surveying this deponent understands from them that they had surveyed the Burning Springs tract for the late General George Washington and Andrew Lewis.

On July 14, 1780, a patent was issued to Washington and Andrew Lewis, signed by Thomas Jefferson as Governor of Virginia for the 250 acres covered by the survey, for and "in consideration of the military service performed by George Washington and issued according to the terms of the King of Great Britain's proclamation of one thousand seven hundred and sixty three."

The earliest mention of the "burning springs" of any note is to be found in a journal kept by Thomas Hanson of the Fincastle surveying party.

On April 15, 1774, he records:

> We proceeded 14 miles down the Kanawha River, passing by the Burning Springs, which is one of the wonders of the world. Put a blaze of pine within 3 or 4 inches of the water and immediately the water will be in flames and continues so until it is put out by the force of the wind. The springs are small and boil continually like a pot on the fire; the water is black and has a taste of nitre. The springs never rise above its banks, nor does any water run from it above the ground, tho it continually boils up. One of the springs was dry at this time we were there—and the earth in the hole of it was burning.

Thomas Jefferson, in 1781, wrote that the spring was "seven miles above the mouth of Elk River, and sixty-seven feet above that of the Kanawha itself," and "is a hole in the earth of a capacity of thirty or forty gallons." A letter from Benjamin Lincoln on the same subject appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* of June 2, 1786.

The "springs," were located just below the mouth of Burning Springs branch, opposite the mouth of Rush Creek, above the village of Levi, and about eight and a half miles above Elk River. Concerning them, Dr. J. P. Hale, the historian of the Kanawha Valley, says that about three miles above the Salt Lick (a few hundred yards above the mouth of Campbell's Creek, at Thorofare Gap, or present Dana) Washington "set apart and deeded to the public forever a square acre of land near the river on which was a great natural wonder, then little understood, called a burning spring. For many years after it, was visited by everyone who came by, or passed through, Kanawha as one of the curiosities of the region. It was simply a hole in the ground, which filled with water when it rained, and up through which issued a jet of gas, giving the water the appearance of boiling and when lighted burned with a bright flame till blown out by a high wind." In spite of statements to the contrary, the location is now only traditionary, no trace remaining of any of the springs. Reference can only be made to general location based on old property lines.

The title to this land was involved in much dispute. Following the death of General Andrew Lewis in 1781, under the laws of that day, the title to the whole tract reverted to Washington. On April 24, 1795, Thomas Lewis, a son of General Lewis, acting under what was believed to be the right of his own family, sold the upper half or 125 acres to John Morris. Morris resided on the land and, on February 5, 1818, sold it to Aaron Stockton and John Reynolds, reserving certain cemetery rights. Stockton later became a celebrated innkeeper at Kanawha Falls on the James River and Kanawha Turnpike.

In the subsequent litigation it is clear that it was the intention of Gabriel Lewis—in charge of the land partition surveys for the Washington estate—that this tract should be

included with "lot 19" which was assigned to Lawrence Augustine Washington. The said Washington resided for a time on this property just below the mouth of "Poca" River. The interest in the burning springs land was included in order to remedy certain inferiority in "lot 19," apparent to this day. But in some unknown manner the small tract was omitted from the deed of partition.

Acting under his own rights, Lawrence A. Washington leased the land to Benjamin F. Reeder, of Kanawha County, who bound himself to "sink a well" and operate a salt furnace. This contract was, on September 14, 1814, transferred to Aaron Stockton.

Washington then set about to clear his own claims to the land. In 1816 he entered suit against Bushrod Washington and others in the Superior Court of Chancery held at Lewisburg. The case was not contested and in November, 1819, a decision was handed down sustaining the plaintiff. Andrew Parks, acting as commissioner for himself and other heirs, executed a deed confirming the title on March 14, 1820.

In the meantime Lawrence A. Washington had removed from the family seat at "Red House Shoals" on the Kanawha to the environs of Wheeling, in Ohio County. He concluded—as indicated in a long deed replete with details on record at Charleston, West Virginia—that the descendants of General Lewis "ought to inherit and hold the part of the Burning Springs tract which he owned while alive & as far as they have the power to remedy the defect and injustice of the laws in relation to joint tenacy, as they existed at the death of General Andrew Lewis, they feel disposed to do so."

In keeping with this intention Robert McKee, of Mason County, surveyed the property, finding that it actually

contained about 418 acres, and divided it into two parts. Joel Shrewsbury and Leonard Morris were then selected to examine the survey and arrange the dividing line so that each half might have one of the "burning springs." They filed a report on June 17, 1820, and it was agreed that a road 35 feet wide should be run at "right angles from the Great Kanawha river to the center of the upper burning spring or cavity discharging inflamable gas and an acre of land including the said cavity would give to the said Lawrence Washington an equal interest in the natural curiosities." The details worked out were included in a deed, dated July 27, 1820, when Washington and his wife, Mary Dorcas, of Ohio County, conveyed one-half of the land to "Thomas Lewis, Andrew Lewis, William Lewis, Evans Lewis, and Samuel Lewis, the first four of whom are of the county of Mason, of the said Common wealth, and the last of the state of Ohio, and who are the sons of the late Thomas Lewis, of the second part, and John Reynolds and Aaron Stockton of the county of Kanawha in said Commonwealth of the third part."

Title to the residue, it appears, became invested in Dr. Lawrence Washington, a son of Lawrence Augustine Washington, who married Martha Shrewsbury, of Kanawha County, later removing to Texas. Dickinson and Shrewsbury, saltmakers, acquired title to a part of the survey in 1839, and on this tract in 1843 was brought in one of the first large natural gas wells in the Kanawha Valley.

Dr. R. G. Thwaites recites that General Washington "intended to leave this (his?) portion as a public property, but for some reason this plan was never carried out." This statement has been often made in the public press, but it will be noted that no mention of this intention is made in Washington's will, or in any other available record.

II

The year 1784 finds Washington making a tour as far west as present Washington, Pennsylvania, and into Monongalia and Preston Counties, West Virginia. He intended to visit the Kanawha when he went out, as he recorded on September 10, "if the temper and disposition of the Indians render it advisable to proceed." This he did not do; but commenting on October 4, on the results of his journey, he recorded, "And tho' I was disappointed in one of the objects which induced me to undertake this journey—namely, to examine into the situation, quality, and advantages of the land which I hold upon the Ohio and Great Kanawha, and to take measures for rescuing them from the hands of land jobbers and speculators, who, I had been informed, regardless of my legal and equitable rights, patents, etc., had enclosed them with other surveys and were offering them for sale at Philadelphia and in Europe—I say, notwithstanding this disappointment, I am well pleased with my journey."

By 1785, the care of Washington's lands weighed so heavily upon his time that he appointed Major Thomas Freeman, of Redstone, Pennsylvania, as an agent. "My lands," wrote Washington, "on the Ohio and Great Kanawha will be rented on the terms contained in a printed advertisement." But this was not a successful plan; and, perhaps, some of the "sons" of the new republic took advantage of the further proviso that "where acts of providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient in the exaction of rent."

About 1787 Washington wrote Colonel Thomas Lewis, surveyor for Augusta County, and a former resident of Rockingham, in an endeavor to secure his services in handling the Kanawha lands. A brother, William Lewis, had

taken up his residence in the Sweet Springs Valley, in Monroe County. No results came of this attempt. He therefore turned to George Clendenin, who in 1788 erected and established Clendenin's Fort, or Fort Lee, now Charleston, West Virginia.

Writing to Clendenin from New York, on June 25, 1790, he explained the failure of negotiations with Lewis, and set forth his ownership of several valuable tracts of land in the Kanawha and Ohio Valleys, "which have long endeavored to settle but without effect." "It is therefore necessary," he continued, "for me to place this business in other hands, and your residence in the vicinity, with the knowledge which you have of the country would greatly assist me in the settlement of these lands; the only object at present is to have the lands settled and be exonerated from the taxes. I do not expect they will yield me an immediate profit." It appears that Clendenin, busy with border affairs, made no attempt to comply with this request.

With a vast estate, the subject of taxes was no doubt of great importance. It meant a constant drain upon Washington's finances to care for property that brought in no revenue. The Kanawha Valley lands were for a time located in Greenbrier County, then passed to Kanawha County upon the organization of that county in 1789, the boundaries of which reached to the waters of the Ohio. The first entry in the land books of Kanawha County (1791), show tracts as follows: 2,250; 2,000; 1,091; 3,373; and 10,990 acres in the same name that of General Washington; and 250 acres owned jointly by General Washington and General Lewis.

Taxes accrued in Greenbrier and Kanawha Counties from 1789 until 1797. In November, 1797, Augustus Woodward, of Greenbrier, set out for Philadelphia. The

county authorities sent Washington a statement in the care of Woodward, which was delivered at Mount Vernon. On December 18, 1797, Washington wrote to Bushrod Washington that he had received the "draughts" at the hands of Mr. Woodward, "living, according to his own accounts, at Greenbrier Court House," but that he—Washington—did not know who was sheriff of Kanawha County or the bearer; that he was not inclined to pay the taxes without inquiry; and that he wished to see if the taxes could be paid in Richmond. If so, "measures shall be taken as soon as I am in cash to discharge the same."

Bushrod Washington replied on January 8, 1798, and on the 19th, Washington wrote that the letter had just come in time, as "Mr. Augustus Woodward (in whose favor the Sheriff of Kanawha had drawn for the taxes on my lands in that county) was here on his return from Phila. & received the full amount of the draught." He was still at a loss to know why the account came from Greenbrier, and was confused by acreage, especially a tract granted to "G. Washington & Geo. Muse, lying in Botetourt" ("Poca" River tract). A list was enclosed including a small tract which he "had almost forgot, tho' extremely valuable for its size," referring, no doubt, to the Burning Springs acreage.

On November 24, 1797, James Welch, of Rockingham County, but then living in Greenbrier, visited Mount Vernon. Washington records in his diary that " a Mr. Welch from Greenbrier dined here." The Kanawha lands were discussed and, on the 29th, Welch submitted an offer to lease the property. "After further discussion," Washington notes on December 19th, that he "went up to Alexa. and Finished my business with Mr. Welch."

No doubt the future of the property looked a little brighter—so much so that Washington wrote Hon. James

Ross, Senator from western Pennsylvania, on January 22, 1798, that "having made an important contract (if the person with whom it is made can fulfill his part) for all the lands I hold on the Great Kanawha, which is more than half I possess on the western waters," he was less inclined to lay off the other in lots. In fact, if the Ohio lands could be placed on similar terms he would be well pleased.

The land was "leased for 30 years, at the expiration of which time, by doubling the rents hence forward, they are engaged for 90 years more. For the first year (1798) the rent is to be $5,000; for the 2nd, $8,000, and thence to the completion of the 30 years, the rent to be equal to the interest of 8 dollars an acre upon the aggregate quantity of 23,216 acres with the privilege at the end of six year from the commencement of the lease (the first of the present month) to purchase the fee simple at the price of $200,000 paid in 4 years, $50,000 annually," all to be secured by a deed of trust. "That he is a speculator," continued Washington, "I need not add, but he must be a fool, as well as a speculator, if he does not see his way tolerably clear to fulfill the bargain on his part;" and if the project fails, the land will be but more valuable because of the improvements.

Washington in the meantime notified his friend and attorney, James Keith, that he had agreed to lease his Kanawha lands to Welch; but there is a veiled implication that Keith, the canny Dr. James Craik, and even General Daniel Morgan felt that it was all a waste of time. Welch, in the alleged transactions, executed a deed of trust to secure fulfillment of his contract, and in addition placed with Washington, in trust, the title to 99,995 acres located on the headwaters of Elk River in a boundary then included in the limits of Randolph County, (West) Virginia.

On October 11, 1798, Welch made a visit to Mount Vernon accompanied by a Mr. Tracy. The purpose of the visit was to induce Washington to release the trust title on the Randolph County lands, Welch representing that he could sell this tract and proposed that he would subject other lands of equal, or greater, value in lieu thereof in like trust. Washington noted that he "estimated" that it would be "an accommodation to him and a benefit to me in his payments to make the exchange." In this way Welch claimed he would secure some cash with which to make Washington a payment.

The Washington papers contain a number of letters concerning this project. Welch moved around from Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia, to Kentucky; back to Harrisonburg and even journeyed over to Fredericksburg—always on the verge of securing "cash." Washington in the meantime became more strict in his demands. The dealings were disappointing and the whole procedure was but a land speculation that came to naught. The records of Randolph, Kanawha and Greenbrier Counties furnished no light on the subject.

CHAPTER V

THE LANDS ON THE OHIO

NEXT to the Great Kanawha, Washington's largest land holding was on the Ohio River.

Washington Bottom

Among the several tracts acquired by Washington, only one bears his name. That is Washington Bottom, in the then Botetourt, but present Wood County. In June, 1771, it was surveyed by Crawford, assisted by George Cox, William Jackson, Marcus Hardin, and Joel Rees, "in consideration of a proclamation dated at Williamsburg on the 17th day of February, 1754, and pursuant to a subsequent order of council of December 15, 1769." The plate is signed by "Wm. Crawford, surveyor of the officers' and soldiers' claims, June, 1771." The council, on November 6, 1772, ordered the survey to be patented in the name of Washington, the grant being issued on December 15. The survey began "at a chestnut and hickory on the Ohio, about three or four miles below the Little Kenhawa," and Washington records that it fronted on the Ohio "five miles and 120 poles," and embraced 2,314 acres.

Under the partition agreement of 1802, this tract was designated as survey "A". Lot No. 1, of 1,186 acres, was allotted to Charles Carter; and lot No. 2, of 1,186 acres, was allotted to George Steptoe Washington, although the total was supposed to be 2,336 acres.

The beginning of the Washington Bottom survey started at the upper end of the river. The first line was run 55° 34 poles to get away from the river; thence S. 55° W. 584 poles to the little run near the middle of the tract. At this

corner, owing to the bend in the Ohio, the course was changed to S. 218 poles, to a point now in the center of the county road at the Cofer homestead; thence to take it all the bottom E. 78 poles to Vaught's Run, S. 250 poles crossing Little Sandy Creek (at the corner to the 28,000 acres survey not patented by Washington); thence S. 50 W. 220 poles to a large hickory well up the mountain side (when Lucy Washington sold part of the tract to Francis Keene 40 years later the hickory tree was listed as a "fallen tree") S. 78° W. 144 poles to a sugar tree on the bank of the Ohio at the mouth of a run. Because of changes in the shore line of the river, Crawford's lines up the river cannot be accurately followed. The survey was to contain 2,314 acres, bounded by the Ohio for five and one-quarter miles. When later sold to Keene and Lewis, it was described as containing 2,370; but when sub-divided into four tracts totaled 2,343 acres.

At the time, there were at least four islands between the Little Kanawha and the lower end of Washington's lands; and within the memory of people now living, the island referred to as the "small island" was called the four-acre island, although at the time it contained more than fifty acres. It is now a part of Blennerhassett Island; the old channel filled with willows can be plainly seen. Washington observed a small island at the lower end, of which he says, "I dare say little can be seen when the river is high." His observation fits Newbury Island to this day.

In course of time, one of the original corner trees was destroyed by lightning. An examination disclosed what certainly must have been the "blaze" thereon by Crawford. The count of the annular rings of growth count back to the apparent date. The block or section was removed and placed on exhibition in the collection of the Daughters of Pioneers in the city park at Parkersburg.

It is quite evident that Keene and Lewis occupied the land prior to the execution of the deed. A daughter of George Lewis married George Neale who thereafter became the owner of part of the tract. In later years about one half of this section and part of Lewis Neal's holdings came into the possession of C. R. Rector.

Crawford, on November 14, 1774, wrote Washington, "we have built you a house on your land opposite the mouth of Hocking and cleared about eight acres cutting off all the small timber. My brother Valentine Crawford says if you go on improving your land next summer he would still do it for you as usual."

There is a possibility that the house erected by Crawford was not burned by Indians, as later mentioned in a letter to Washington. Lewis found an old log cabin on the tract he acquired and occupied it for some time; it stood very near the Jonas Lewis homestead and was still standing at the close of the Civil War.

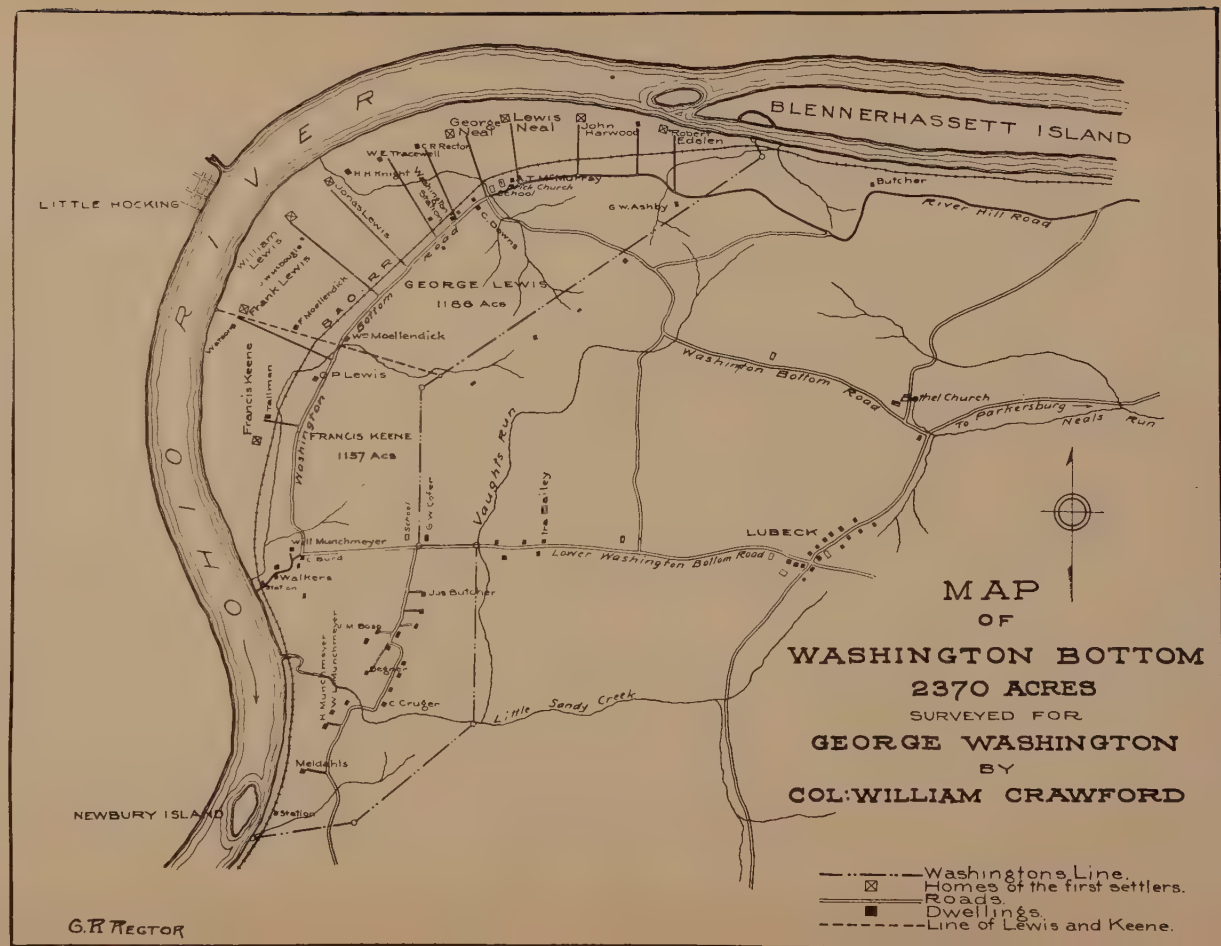
According to Charles R. Rector, one of the owners of this boundary of land, the first house built on Washington Bottom—aside from squatters' cabins and the one mentioned by Crawford—was the Robert Edelen homestead, still occupied; George Neale, Jr. bought the upper end of Blennerhassett Island and from the foundation stones of the destroyed mansion thereon brought a number here and used them as steps to a cellar. Six of these finely cut stones are still in use. The rock, or stone, at the mouth of Little Hocking, which so attracted Washington's attention that he mentioned it in his journal, was for years used as an abutment, or support, for the northern end of the wagon bridge over that stream. The next large bottom below here is that at Belleville; this was patented by Dr. James Craik, close friend of Washington. Many have seen the patent,

Land surveys between the two Kanawhas for Washington, Albert Gallatin, John Savery de Valcoulen, and others. Map made about 1790.

signed "Dunmore," in a bold hand. Next below is Muse's Bottom, of Washington and George Muse notoriety.

The earliest land book in Wood County is dated 1801, and was prepared by George Creel, Jr., of Washington Bottom. The name "George Washington" therein covers two lines, and the capitals in the name are highly embellished with flourishes to indicate that the writer had due honor for the name. In that year and until 1809, the estate is charged with 2,200 acres of land, at $3.00 per acre; and with 1,014 acres until 1813.

In the division of Washington's lands in 1805 this tract, with a variation in acreage, was listed as "lot No. 1 and Lot No. 2" and allotted to Charles Carter, for his wife Betty Carter (a daughter of Washington's only sister, Mrs. Betty Lewis, the wife of Col. Fielding Lewis) and to George Steptoe Washington (son of Washington's brother Samuel). On October 24, 1806, Mrs. Betty Carter, of Culpeper County, sold Lot No. 1, or 1,186 acres of the upper part of Washington Bottom, to George Lewis, of Loudoun County. It is described as "being part of a survey of twenty three hundred and seventy acres" and "beginning at a small hickory on the bank of the Ohio River, opposite a small island that is below a larger one on which H. Blennerhassett now lives, and a high bank about 40 poles a run and near a beech tree marked C. L. 1804," thence following Crawford back lines to a point near halfway of the bottom, the corner, a white oak tree by a drain, leaving the back line N. 75 degree W. 330 poles to two sugar trees and a hickory on the river bank where Dam 19 is now located." The consideration was two thousand five hundred pounds lawful money of the Commonwealth, to them in hand paid, which at the Virginia rate of $3.33 1/3 per pound was about seven dollars per acre.

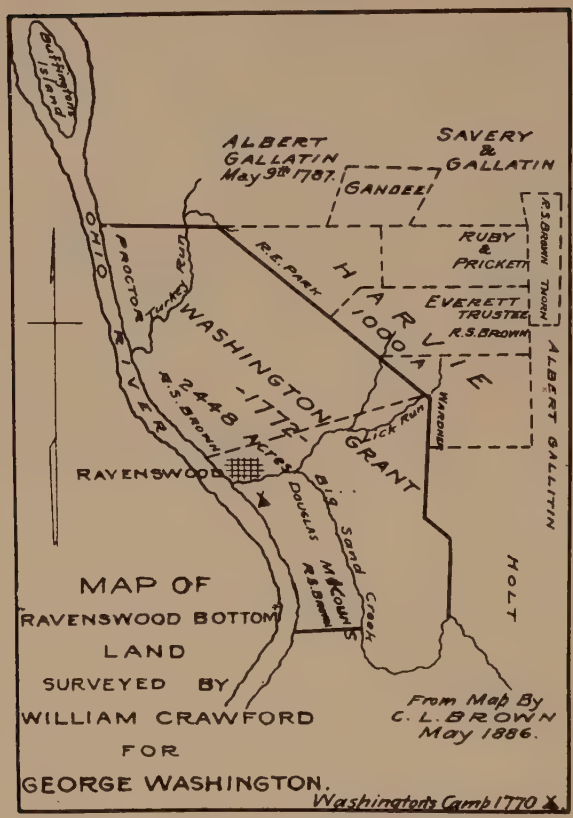

MAP
OF
WASHINGTON BOTTOM
2370 ACRES
SURVEYED FOR
GEORGE WASHINGTON
BY
COL: WILLIAM CRAWFORD
Washington's Line.
Homes of the first settlers.
Roads.
Dwellings.
Line of Lewis and Keene.
BLENNERHASSETT ISLAND
LITTLE HOCKING
NEWBURY ISLAND
OHIO RIVER
B. & O. R. R.
GEORGE LEWIS
1186 Acs
FRANCIS KEENE
1157 Acs
LUBECK
Washington Bottom Road
Lower Washington Bottom Road
River Hill Road
Vaughts Run
Little Sandy Creek
To Parkersburg
Neals Run
George Neal
Lewis Neal
John Harwood
Edelen
Butcher
G.W. Ashby
Jonas Lewis
William Lewis
Frank Lewis
Francis Keene
Wm Moellendick
P. Lewis
Walkers Station
Jas Butcher
C. Cruger
Meldahls
Station
G.R. Rector

A survey of six hundred and ninety acres of "lot 2" was made on March 7, 1807, by William Weedon, assisted by William Lewis, Eli Cotton, and George Lewis. On June 14, 1807, George Steptoe Washington executed a contract to Francis Keene, of Fairfax County, binding himself to convey a tract of land in Wood County, beginning at the mouth of a run called Bibbee's Spring branch, etc. In this Judge Young was also interested. Washington died soon thereafter, and his will, dated July 9, 1807, simply directed that his Kanawha and Ohio lands be sold by the executors of the estate.

On April 24, 1810, Lucy Payne Washington (widow of George Steptoe Washington, and sister-in-law of President Madison) sold to Francis Keene, of Fairfax County, six hundred and ninety acres, in two tracts, of Lot No. 2, "beginning at the mouth of a run called Bibbee's Springs Branch," a clear flowing rivulet fed by everlasting springs which puts into the Ohio at Walkers, the tract adjoining the land of "Lewis formerly Carters." On March 11, 1811, Mrs. Washington married (2nd) Justice Todd, of the U. S. Supreme Court, the wedding being the first to take place in the White House. On December 27, she further transferred to Keene four hundred and sixty-five acres, the remaining portion of Lot 2, the boundary following Crawford's line to the Ohio River near Meldahl's Station, thence up the River, crossing the mouth of Little Sandy Creek, to the mouth of Bibbee's Spring Branch, a corner to Keene's former purchase.

The Ravenswood Tract

On December 15, 1772, a patent was issued to Washington for 2,448 acres, in (then) Botetourt County. The original is in the Library of Congress, the preamble of which reads:



George the III, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, etc; To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know ye that for diverse good causes and considerations, but more especially for the consideration mentioned in a proclamation of Robert Dinwiddie, Esquire, late Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, bearing date the 19th day of February, 1754, for encouraging men to enlist in the service of our late Royal Grandfather for defense and safety of the said Colony, we have given, granted, and confirmed, by these presents for us, our heirs and successors. Do give and grant and confirm until George Washington, land containing two thousand four hundred and forty-eight acres, lying and being in the county of Botetourt, and bounded as follows, to-wit:

> Beginning at or near the upper end of the fourth large bottom on the east side of the Ohio, and about sixteen miles below the Kanawha, at a water oak and sugar tree standing on the river bank at a point below a small run and about six hundred yards below the point of an island, and extending east, etc.

The patent then proceeds to cover the boundaries, conveying to Washington all the lands, "with the privilege of hunting and hawking, fishing, fowling and other profits," and imposing a fee rent on every fifty acres, "of one shilling yearly, to be paid upon the feast of St. Michael, the Arch Angel, next after fifteen years from the date of these presents, and also cultivating and improving three acres," to all of which witness the signature of "our Trusty and beloved John, Earl of Dunmore," of Williamsburg.

This tract was surveyed in June, 1771, by Crawford, and an original plat on file with the patent is endorsed by Washington, "Report of ye 4th. Survey being ye 4th large bottom below ye little Kenhawa No. 4-2448 acres. Cannot be enlarged." The land contained in the boundary comprised what is now known as the "Ravenswood Independent School District." It included therein the site of the town of Ravenswood, is traversed by Big Sand Creek, and is described by Washington as fronting on the river "three miles and fifty-two poles, and is furnished with an excellent mill seat."

In 1805 the upper portion of this tract embracing 1,425 acres, as lot No. "three" of survey "B," was allotted to Dr. Thomas Peter, as agent for his wife, Martha Parke Custis Peter (a daughter of John Park Custis, and granddaughter of Mrs. George Washington), who resided at "Tudor Place," a noted home in Georgetown. Rudolph Roberts, of Alexandria, as agent for the Washington heirs, caused a new survey to be made in 1812. This section was held intact until June 13, 1836, when "John P. C. Peter and

Elizabeth Jane Peter, his wife, and George W. Peter," of (Georgetown) Montgomery County, Maryland, sold the 1,425 acres to Ephriam Wells, of Wellsburg, (W.) Va. for $4,125.00. In 1866, 708 acres of this section was sold to the late Judge Robert S. Brown, of Ravenswood, who added much to his holdings which are still largely owned by a son, Charles L. Brown, and other relatives. The residue in 1866 was sold to Charles Wells.

The lower section, as lot "four," was allotted to "Mrs. Ann Ashton's heirs" and embraced "1425 acres." Ann Ashton was a daughter of Augustine Washington and married Colonel Burdette Ashton; a daughter, Sarah W., married Judge Nicholas Fitzhugh. This section finally came into the possession of two daughters of Judge Fitzhugh, one of whom, Henrietta, married Henry Fitzhugh, and the other, Mary C. M., married Arthur A. M. Payne. This section embraced the site of Ravenswood.

The Henry Fitzhugh family removed at an early date from Fauquier County, Virginia, to Kanawha County, West Virginia; about 1830, they again removed to their lands at the mouth of Big Sand Creek, on the Ohio, where in 1836 the site of Ravenswood was surveyed into town lots. The act creating the town of Ravenswood was passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1852, the upper boundary being the "E. Wells line." In view of many conflicting statements as to the origin of the name, as well as to its connection with the Washington family, it is not out of place to observe the facts.

Some writers have asserted that the town was first designated "Ashton." Others relate that it was named "Ravensworth" after a country seat in England, or derived from the seat of the Fitzhugh family in Virginia. A map-maker later, it is alleged, made a mistake on a plat and the

name Ravenswood came into being. As a matter of fact, the bill presented to the Assembly specified Ravenswood, and there is good reason to believe it was prepared and forwarded to the delegate from present Ravenswood. Mrs. (David) Henrietta Barre, a daughter of Henry Fitzhugh (1876) wrote the late Judge R. S. Brown that the name was suggested by a member of this family, it being in turn derived from Lord Ravenswood, a character in Sir Walter Scott's "*Bride of Lammermoore*," then being read by this party.

The Millwood Tract

A tract of 4395 acres in (then) Botetourt County, but now Jackson County, was patented by Washington on December 15, 1772, based on a survey made in June, 1771. A plat made by Crawford, in the Library of Congress, is endorsed by Washington, "Report of ye 5th. Survey being the 5th large bottom. Cannot be enlarged with rich land."

The survey began "at a large sycamore on the east side of the Ohio, standing at or near the upper end of the fifth large bottom, on the east side below the Little Kanawha and just above the great bend on the Ohio," etc. "Its breadth on the river," records Washington, "is five miles and 70 poles," and embraced the entire bottom lands along the Ohio River from below, and including the site of Millwood, to Towhead Island, above Willow Grove. The location is about 42 miles below the Little Kanawha named in the grant, and approximately seven miles below the "Ravenswood Bottom" tract.

In the records of the county court of Botetourt at Fincastle, Virginia, under date of April 9, 1776, appears the following order:

> "A valuation of improvements amounting to four hundred and sixty pounds, three shillings, made on a tract of land in

A Table to explain this Plat, being the Fifth Bottom below the Little Kanhawa; and the Bottom just above the great Bend in the Ohio.

Beginning at A a large Sycamore on the East side of the River Ohio, and running thence down the said River and binding therewith the several Courses and Meanders thereof as follows viz: N 85° W 270 poles, S 35 W 350 pe S 15° W. 470 pe S 11° E 170 pe S 47 W 410 pe (Crossing a Large Creek at 375 poles) to

B a Sycamore standing a little below the said Creek and on the Bank of the Ohio: Thence S 40° E (Crossing Waters at 146 & 194 pe) 248 Poles to

C a White Oak in the fork of a Run. Thence East (Crossing Water at 126 pe) 380 poles to

D. Two Sycamores: Thence N 45° E 320 Poles to

E a White Oak on the East side of a Hill, near the head of a drain; Thence N 2° E 1130 Poles, by protraction to the Beginning — Containing 4395 Acres.

Pursuant to an Order of the Honble the Governor and Council of Virginia dated the 15th Day of Dec. 1769, I have Surveyed the land mentioned in this Plat, as part of the 200,000 Acres Granted for the use of the Officers and Soldiers mentioned in the said Order.

John Custard
George Cox
Wm Jackson
Marcus Hardin
Joel Rees
} Sworn Chainmen and Markers.

Wm Crawford Surv^r of the Sd Land
June 177[illegible]

Survey of land on the Ohio River at Big Mill Creek, West Virginia, made for Washington by Col. William Crawford.
—*From Originial in Library of Congress*

> Botetourt county on the Ohio River about three or four miles above the rapids at the Great Bend belonging to George Washington, Esquire, containing four thousand three hundred and ninety five acres of land was presented in court by James Cleveland, agent for the said Washington, and proved by the oath of the said James, according to law and ordered to be recorded."

In the division of the Washington lands in 1805, this tract was divided into four "lots" designated as survey "C" embracing 1400 acres; the upper or Willow Grove section was allotted to Andrew Park. Some time prior to 1818 this tract was sold to John Warth, of Winchester, Virginia, who settled thereon. It was later divided into ten parcels and passed to his eight daughters and two sons; one of these, the late John A. Warth, of St. Albans, conveyed the upper portion to the late Nathan Parr. John Warth was the grandfather of Judge L. N. Tavenner, of Parkersburg, and the late John Warth English, of the West Virginia Supreme Court. To this day this section is called "Warth's Bottom."

A tract traversed by Lick Run and Lower Spring Creek, embracing actually 1,134 acres, was listed as 1,000 acres, and, as lot "six," was allotted to "Mrs. Elizabeth Law." Mrs. Law, who was formerly Elizabeth Parke Custis, granddaughter of Mrs. George Washington, in 1796 married Thomas Law—a brother of Lord Ellenborough, and a noted character in early Washington. A daughter of this marriage, Elizabeth or Eliza, in 1817, married Lloyd Nicholas Rogers the owner of the property now embraced in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore. Later this tract passed into the ownership of Edmund Law Rogers, a son, who leased it for years to Alfred Douglas. Rogers became involved in financial difficulties and derived nothing from his holdings.

A survey in 1896 by V. A. Dunbar and J. W. Stout show 1134-45/100 acres, much of it in virgin forest, which gave rise to the local name of the "Big Woods." The shore line

of the Ohio has changed greatly since the survey by Crawford, for Washington; Goose or George's Island, fronting thereon, then owned by J. P. McCoy, has almost become a part of the West Virginia mainland.

On January 26, 1898, this tract as a whole was sold by "Charlotte L. M. P. Rogers," widow of Edmund Law Rogers, late of Baltimore, Md., and Charlotte P. R. Smith and others to "Charles L. Brown and Warren Miller," of Jackson County, West Virginia. It is not out of place to observe that this tract is still held intact by Ben W., John W., and Sterling Miller. Part of the Millwood area in time passed into the possession of Lewis H. Miller.

Lot No. "seven," embracing the Ripley Landing section of "1300 acres," was allotted to George Lewis, who later transferred it to Bushrod Washington and Dr. William F. Alexander, of Alexandria, who married Ann Maria Washington. In later years it was owned by John Douglas.

The section embracing 670 acres, including the site of Millwood, or the lower end of the entire tract, was, as part of lot "twenty-one," allotted to Francis Peyton, who also received 880 acres on the Great Kanawha.

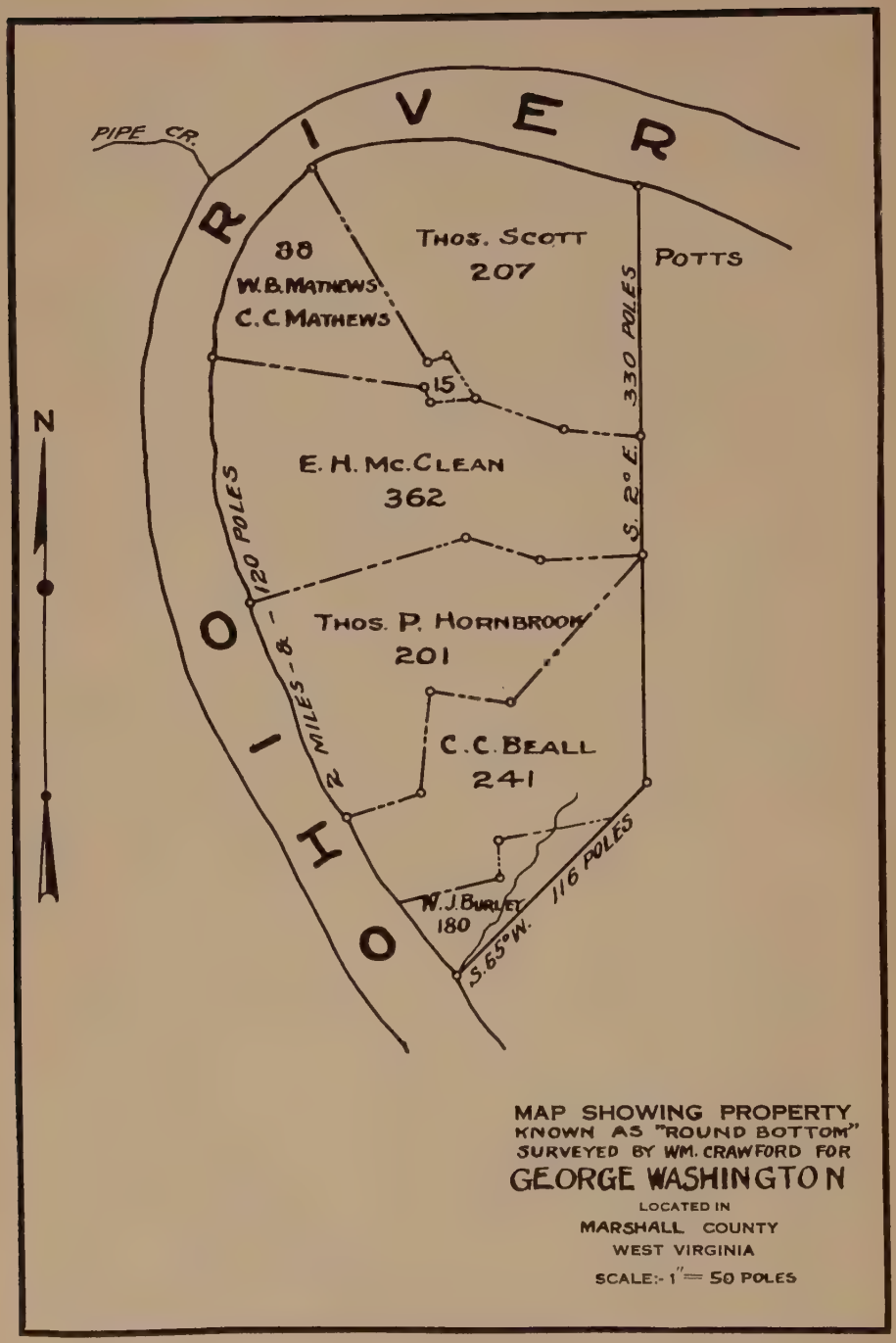
The Round Bottom

The "round bottom" tract is located a short distance below the city of Moundsville, in present Marshall County, near a railroad stop known as "Round Bottom." It was first surveyed in the spring of 1771 by Crawford who, on August 2, advised Washington that he had run out the tracts on the Ohio, including that "above Captina or opposite the Pipe Creek," and further observed that "it is not large." In the Library of Congress is an original plat, dated 1771, endorsed by Washington, "Plat of the Land above Capteening opposite Pipe Creek." A second survey was made by

Crawford, dated July 14, 1773, which became the basis for the patent issued to Washington. Mark Hardin and William Jackson, as chainmen, attested to the calls; the tract at that time was thought to embrace five hundred and eighty-seven acres.

It was reported that in 1771 "Doctor Brisco" (John Briscoe) had started to make a settlement on this land; but, his attention being directed to Washington's claims, he removed to just above the mouth of the Little Kanawha near present Parkersburg. The desirability of the land had, however, come to the attention of Captain Michael Cresap who, upon the basis of a purchased land warrant, also set up a claim. Washington had visited Cresap's father at the time of the 1770 tour to the Ohio and no doubt felt that the new claim had been made with full knowledge of his own plans. Washington then, under date of September 26, 1773, wrote Cresap informing him he had personally selected this land in the fall of 1770, and had had Crawford survey it, who "returned to me the plat of it as you may see by the enclosed copy, intending as soon as a patent could be secured to apply for one." In concluding he wrote, "I can conceive no reason why you or any other person should attempt to disturb me in my claim to this land, as I have not to my knowledge, injur'd or attempted to injure any other man in his pretentions to land in that country," and if "you have made any improvement thereon, not knowing of my claim, I will very readily pay you the full value thereof."

During the following year Crawford, as assistant surveyor, continued his work under the direction of Thomas Lewis, surveyor for Augusta County, returning during the twelve months 4,153 acres for various claimants. Lewis directed a new survey of the "Round Bottom," and, on May 8, 1774, Crawford sent to Washington "drafts of the Round


RIVER
OHIO
PIPE CR.
88
W.B. MATHEWS
C.C. MATHEWS
THOS. SCOTT
207
POTTS
330 POLES
15
N
E. H. MC. CLEAN
362
S. 2° E.
120 POLES
THOS. P. HORNBROOK
201
2 MILES - 8
C.C. BEALL
241
W. J. BURLEY
180
S. 65° W.
116 POLES
MAP SHOWING PROPERTY
KNOWN AS "ROUND BOTTOM"
SURVEYED BY WM. CRAWFORD FOR
GEORGE WASHINGTON
LOCATED IN
MARSHALL COUNTY
WEST VIRGINIA
SCALE:- 1" = 50 POLES

Bottom, and your Chartiers land," the latter in Pennsylvania, but then supposed to be in Virginia. Washington, it seems, desired another draft made and forwarded to Lewis, as, on June 8, Crawford wrote, "I shall take the opportunity of the first scouting party down the river to comply with your request in regard to the Round Bottom, and send you a plat and another to Mr. Lewis, when I hope no door will be left open for disappointment."

Commenting further on some alleged variations in the compass and calculations, Crawford continued that they "were taken by Mr. Leet and Mr. McLain from Mr. Dixon and Mr. Mason's calculation, and they find it to be 4° 10′ westerly," and "their work, I believe, may be depending upon, as they are both able surveyors." And it may be observed that their name, applied to the Mason and Dixon line, is recalled to this day.

Crawford, however, had no opportunity to carry out Washington's request until September 20, 1774, when he advised Washington that he is to "set out with the first divisions (Dunmore's Army) for the mouth of the Hocking, and there to erect a post on your bottom (Washington Bottom) where the whole of the troops are to rendezvous." As has been observed, the post was erected on the opposite side of the Ohio, below Washington's land. Continuing, Crawford says, "It has not been in my power since your letter came to hand requesting me to run the land over again at the Round Bottom to do so," but "shall take my instruments with me and comply with your request in each particular so far as in my power."

October came and with it the battle of Point Pleasant, the high point of Dunmore's War. November fourteenth finds Crawford back home; on this date he wrote Washington, "I have run your land at the Round Bottom again, and

will send you a new draft of it by Valentine Crawford," further observing that Captain Cresap "wanted me to survey it for him also and return it. I told him that I could not at any rate do such a thing, as I had surveyed it for you."

The American Revolution then interposed and little attention could be given to the smaller matter of land holdings. Cresap with Morgan's Riflemen marched to the east never to return and sleeps in Trinity Church yard, New York City.

Not until August 10, 1779, does Crawford make further mention of this tract, at this time he wrote Washington, observing that the land office would be opened at Fort Pitt on October 1, and that in future all disputes would be settled by auditors appointed by the Virginia Assembly.

Writing further he says:

> Your Round Bottom tract I suppose will be settled that way, as a patent has not been obtained for it, as I understand. Should I be there at the time it is settled, I will attend. If I do not you may chance to lose it, as I am better acquainted with the circumstances than any other person. Young Tomlinson who first improved the land was with me when I surveyed the land, and carried the chain round it, and gave up any title he had to you upon my informing him that you claimed that land. There was no improvement on the land when I surveyed it for you, but Tomlinson's as I saw. Your houses down the river are all burnt by the Indians.

On May 23, 1781, Crawford wrote Washington, "some time ago I wrote you relative to your Round Bottom tract of land. I can never find out what has been done about it, whether Thomas Lewis returned it or not. If you can give any directions I will do anything in my power for you." Such were the closing sentiments of loyalty of this brave pioneer of the west for his fellow-in-arms in the Revolutionary War. One year and one day from the inditing of his last communication to Washington, Crawford directed

his last letter while on his way to Sandusky upon the expedition in which he lost his life. It was to General William Irvine, in command at Fort Pitt, and to Crawford's everlasting credit is the statement made therein that "I shall endeavor to do all in my power for the good of my country."

The patent for this land was issued October 30, 1784, by Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, "agreeable to the terms of the King of Great Britain's Proclamation of 1763," the land being described as "lying and being in the County—which was formally a part of Augusta, on the river, Ohio, at a place called the Round Bottom, by virtue of a survey bearing date the 14th day of July, 1773."

The survey began "at a sugar tree standing on the bank of the river, about half a mile above the mouth of the Captenon (Captina Creek) which empties on the opposite side of the Ohio River at a point below a spring run, at the foot of a steep hill, thence leaving the river and running S. W. degrees east 330 poles to a small sugar tree, thence south 65 west poles to the river, and with the river bank to the point of beginning," embracing, it was believed, 587 acres. The patent was based on land warrants issued to John Posey, Goodrich Crump, Jesse Scott, Marshall Pratt, Robert Scott, and John Poe, in 1773 and 1774, which had been acquired by Washington.

In the meantime, James Neal, Charles Martin and William Haymond, as commissioners for unpatented lands in Monongalia and Ohio Counties, issued a certificate on April 17, 1781, which entitled the heirs of Michael Cresap to 400 acres of the same land. A survey was made by Robert Woods, surveyor for Ohio County. Washington filed a *caveat*, July 29, 1785, "claiming the same by a better right, a grant already obtained," which was dismissed by the General Court at the April term, in 1787, and the grant was issued February 3, 1791.

This tract appears to have received no further attention at the hands of Washington until 1798. In the meantime, the western claimants had been busy with affairs of the border and interposed no objections from a legal standpoint. On July 2, 1798, Archibald McClean of Alexandria directed a letter to Washington asking if he would sell "the tract (called I think Round Bottom)" and, if so, would he consider in "exchange for it improved property in the town of Alexandria." The suggestion met with favor and on the 4th a reply was sent in which Washington stated that he would be willing to sell the land, or would be willing to take "improved property in exchange for it."

Details of various nature was later discussed by letter and Washington prepared a memorandum setting his understanding of a lease, or sale. The original of this, or a copy by Washington, was filed in 1823 at Clarksburg, (West) Virginia, in the chancery suit of Cresap vs. McClean. The original now reposes in a special folder in the office of the Clerk of the Circuit Court of Harrison County and reads as follows:

MEMORANDUM

A tract of five hundred and eighty acres, as by Patent, bearing date the 30th day of October, 1784, lying on the Ohio River in the county of ———————— formerly Augusta, is valued at five thousand eight hundred and seventy dollars be the quantity more or less. It may be taken now at that quantity —or now be determined to abide by the quantity that shall be found therein if resurveyed.

This tract George Washington agrees to lease to Archibald McClean for the term of ——— years, the rent is to be equivalent to the interest of the above mentioned sum of $5,870 at 6 pr. cent pr annum the first which is to become due and payable on the first day of January, 1800.

It is optional in the said Archibald McClean to become the proprietor in fee of the said tract of 587 acres within seven years from the time of granting the lease; the said Archibald paying therefor the above sum of $5,870 in installments of not less than $2 or $3000 dolls. at a payment.

The year succeeding the payment of each installment the rent is to be reduced in proportion to the interest of the said installments so paid.

If the said Archibald McClean should incline to let the improved lot on which he lives in the town of Alexandria go in part payment, the said George Washington agrees to allow him for the same whatever three disinterested men shall value it at, each of the parties to choose one of the valuers and the two chosen to make the choice of the third.

The rents until the fee simple departs from the said George Washington or his heirs to the said Archibald McClean or his heirs are to be satisfactory secured by the latter to the former.

If McClean is disposed to make an absolute purchase of the land in preference to obtaining it on lease in the manner aforesaid and will let his property in Alexandria go in payment, valued as above, a deed may be drawn accordingly to convey the estate in fee and for securing the balance at a period to be fixed or by installments as can be agreed upon with annual interest until paid of six pr. ct. pr. ann. a mortgage will be taken of the land so conveyed in fee.

This would be the easiest and simplest mode of completing the business ——— ——— other security than what is mentioned above whereas securing the rents may be attended with more difficulty while the fee simple is withheld—But I am equally ready to execute writings to either effect, I am willing to allow the full value for your property in the judgment of disinterested men although I have set too low a price on my land in the opinion of a very judicious gentlemen (well acquainted with the land) whom I have seen since I concluded to bargain with you.

Go. Washington.

Mount Vernon.
6th Aug., 1798.

Washington it was true, set too low a price on his land, considering the extent thereof embraced in the lines named in the grant and survey. It was, therefore, to McClean's interest that it should not be surveyed at the time. McClean, it seems, elected to purchase the land rather than to make any exchange of property. A deed was executed by Washington on August 8, 1798, in which the property is described and conveyed to McClean. On April 4, 1803, at a session of the Circuit Court for the District of Columbia,

Mount Vernon 6th Aug. 1798

Sir

The annual meeting of the Potomack Company requires my attendance in Alexandria to day. It will be held, I presume, at Gadsbys; - If so, I shall be there from ten O'clock until [illegible] and shall be ready to see you at any hour between. - The earlier the better. -

Enclosed is the Patent for the 587 acre tract (with a plat thereof on the back); with a memorandum of my understanding of our agreement; by which the writings are to be drawn. -

Mr. Keith has usually done the kind of business for me, and I presume would draw the writings between us as accurately as any other: but it is indifferent to me who the draughtsman is, if professional, and can be correct. -

If a Lease is prepared to an absolute sale, the usual covenants to enforce buildings - Planting Orchards - making Meadow - the entry in case of non-performance &c. &c. must be inserted - for although the priviledge of becoming the purchaser in fee is reserved for seven years it is not less incumbent on me to attend to the Property while the right remains unalienated. - To render it unnecessary hereafter to see that these covenants are complied with, and to avoid difficulty in securing the Rent, were my inducements for suggesting the alternative of a final bargain, on the terms proposed in the Mem.m but I repeat, that I am equally ready to execute the other. -

I am - Sir

Your Very H.ble Serv.t

G. Washington

Mr. Arch.d McClean.

Copy of letter from Washington to "Arch McClean" concerning land in the Round Bottom. —*From original owned by* Mrs. Marie McClean Linch, Moundsville, W. Va.

held at Alexandria, he certified a copy of the deed to the County Court of Ohio county. It is endorsed, "Received of Archibald McClean five thousand eight hundred and seventy dollars the consideration mentioned, G. Washington," and the fact is attested by J. A. Keith, John Gadsby, John Mackintosh, and John V. Thomas, (Deed Book Five, Ohio County). On the other hand, in his reply in the suit of Cresap vs. McClean, filed at Clarksburg, in 1824, it is stated that there yet "remains due of the purchase price upwards of two thousand dollars," with interest from January 1, 1799. McClean, also in 1813, conveyed to the executors of the Washington estate a lot in Alexandria.

McClean assumed possession of his new holdings, made an inspection in the fall of 1798 and located tenants thereon in 1799. He soon found that instead of five hundred and eighty seven acres he actually acquired twelve hundred and ninety-three. The subsequent history is filled with legal difficulties both for the owner and for the administrators of Washington's estate.

On February 27, 1800, a 400-acre settlement right was issued to Joseph Tomlinson who claimed to have made a settlement as early as 1770. This new grant included most of the upper end of the Washington patent. McClean began an ejectment suit against Tomlinson in the Superior Court of Ohio County, which gave a judgment in favor of Tomlinson. The Supreme Court ordered a new trial on October 8, 1811, with the same results. McClean then carried the case to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia which, on November 18, 1816, handed down a decision that the "judgment be reversed," sustaining the plaintiff.

Michael Cresap, Jr., son of Captain Michael Cresap, became of age in 1796. He joined Tomlinson in bearing the expense of the litigation under an agreement made in

1781, which agreement was dissolved on January 13, 1823, thereafter each party to "be at liberty to defend their respective claims in any manner they think best." McClean in the meantime leased 250 acres on a long lease to Jonathan Roberts.

This was followed by the introduction of a suit in chancery in the Superior Court for the Fourth District at Clarksburg, in April, 1823, by Micheal Cresap against McClean and his tenant Roberts. Edwin Duncan, later a prominent judge, appeared for the defendants. The bill of complaint set up that Micheal Cresap, Sr. and Tomlinson had made a settlement on this land as early as 1770, and that one of Cresap's daughters had married Luther Martin, who had caused a survey to be made and entered in the register's office, July 29, 1785. Washington was also accused of having had the survey made first and acquired the land warrants afterwards.

Roberts filed a reply May 24, 1824, showing that he had no connection with the ownership and his name was stricken from the bill. McClean appeared to show that he had bought the land ignorant of other claimants and that Washington had at no time made any false statements; indeed, he had held the land without trouble from 1784 until 1798 under an act created long before the land office was opened.

The history of the various claims were reviewed at length. The outcome of the case, writes the late Major Henry Haymond, of Clarksburg, was that when Judge Henry St. George Tucker, "discovered that Washington was accused of being implicated in a questionable land transaction, he dismissed the case saying that any person who intimated that Washington was concerned in improper conduct had no standing in his court." This tradition may

not be literally true, but on May 17, 1826, it was decreed, "that the plaintiffs bill be dismissed and that the defendant recover against the plaintiff his costs here expended."

Cresap then appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. Voluminous evidence was introduced, part of which showed that "in the year 1798 General Washington, believing (as was proved beyond doubt) that the survey and grant contained only 587 acres sold the land to Archibald McClean, for 5870 dollars, and conveyed it to him by the metes and bounds described in the survey and grant as containing 587 acres; and under the conveyance McClean in 1799 took possession of the whole of the Round Bottom, including within the metes and bounds, being in truth 1293 acres and put his tenants upon it." A decision was rendered in April, 1834, sustaining the Washington title and the McClean claims.

Archibald McClean was a Scotch printer who had located in Alexandria. He removed to the Round Bottom property where he died in 1844; he operated a printing office in Moundsville, and became the holder of other property located in West Virginia and Ohio. At his home was established in 1822, a postoffice known as Archville. He served as postmaster from that date until 1837. Members of his family continued the ownership for many years, and others were pioneers in the settlement of Iowa.

On March 20, 1774, Washington entered into an agreement with Valentine Crawford, by which the latter was to act as overseer of his property on the Ohio River. He was to be governed by instructions dated March 30, which were largely negatived by the opening of the Revolutionary War.

CHAPTER VI

WASHINGTON'S INTEREST ON THE LITTLE KANAWHA; IN OHIO AND KENTUCKY

I

ASHINGTON manifested a great interest in the Little Kanawha Valley, in earlier years, with a view it seems of acquiring lands thereon; and in later years, in connection with his search for a waterway to the west.

As early as January 7, 1769, Crawford advised Washington that "I have not been down on any part of the Little Kanawha, but have conversed with numbers who have been from the head to the mouth; they tell me there are no large bodies of good land on it." Washington himself, on his tour in the following year, made particular inquiry, but it would seem that the informants of both were of somewhat dubious veracity—a fact observed at that time. Washington did not personally inspect any of the land thereon except the present site of Parkersburg.

George Rogers Clark, in 1772, made a similar report.

Crawford, it seems, had in mind the securing of a large boundary of land on this stream, and probably made some kind of survey on the stream in 1771. "If you will join as much of your officers' claim as will take all of the survey, you may depend I will make any equal division you may propose," he wrote. The summer of 1773 was spent in surveying lands along the Ohio; and on January 10, 1774, Crawford advised Washington that "Lord Dunmore promised me faithfully that when I sent him the draft of land on the Little Kanawha he would patent it for me; and in my letter to you I mentioned it, but have not heard anything from you relating it."

This letter is followed by another on the fifteenth enclosing an "account of the expenses of last summer's trip in surveying soldiers' lands," and an observation that Colonel George Muse "drew an order to me on you for the expense of dividing the (his) land, and I know he intends charging you more, but I do not think he ought to be paid any additional amount, as he has expended double the amount necessary."

On September 20, 1774, Crawford wrote that "I have as much land lying on the Little Kanawha as will make up the quantity you want, that I intended to lay grants on; but if you want it, you can have it, and I will try and get other land for that purpose." Writing further, on November 14, he says, "I have drafts of land on the Little Kanawha. I shall send them to you, and leave you at your choice to do as you like." What action Washington subsequently took is not revealed by his own records that have been found, and the records in the Virginia Land office reveal no light upon the subject.

Years later there came into the possession of Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876), and was by him presented to Johns Hopkins University, an original land plat, presumably made by Crawford, and bearing thereon a memorandum in the handwriting of Washington. The plat is 13½ by 26 inches, and is endorsed on the back. "Plat of the Survey of the Little Kanawha, 28,400 acres, made in 1773."

The survey contains 28,400 acres, and, according to the notation thereon by Washington, is patented in the names of Captain Robert Stobo's heirs for 9,000 acres, Captain Jacob Van Braam for 9,000 acres, and various others for 10,400 acres. An error of 400 acres leaves the net amount of land in the survey as 28,000 acres.

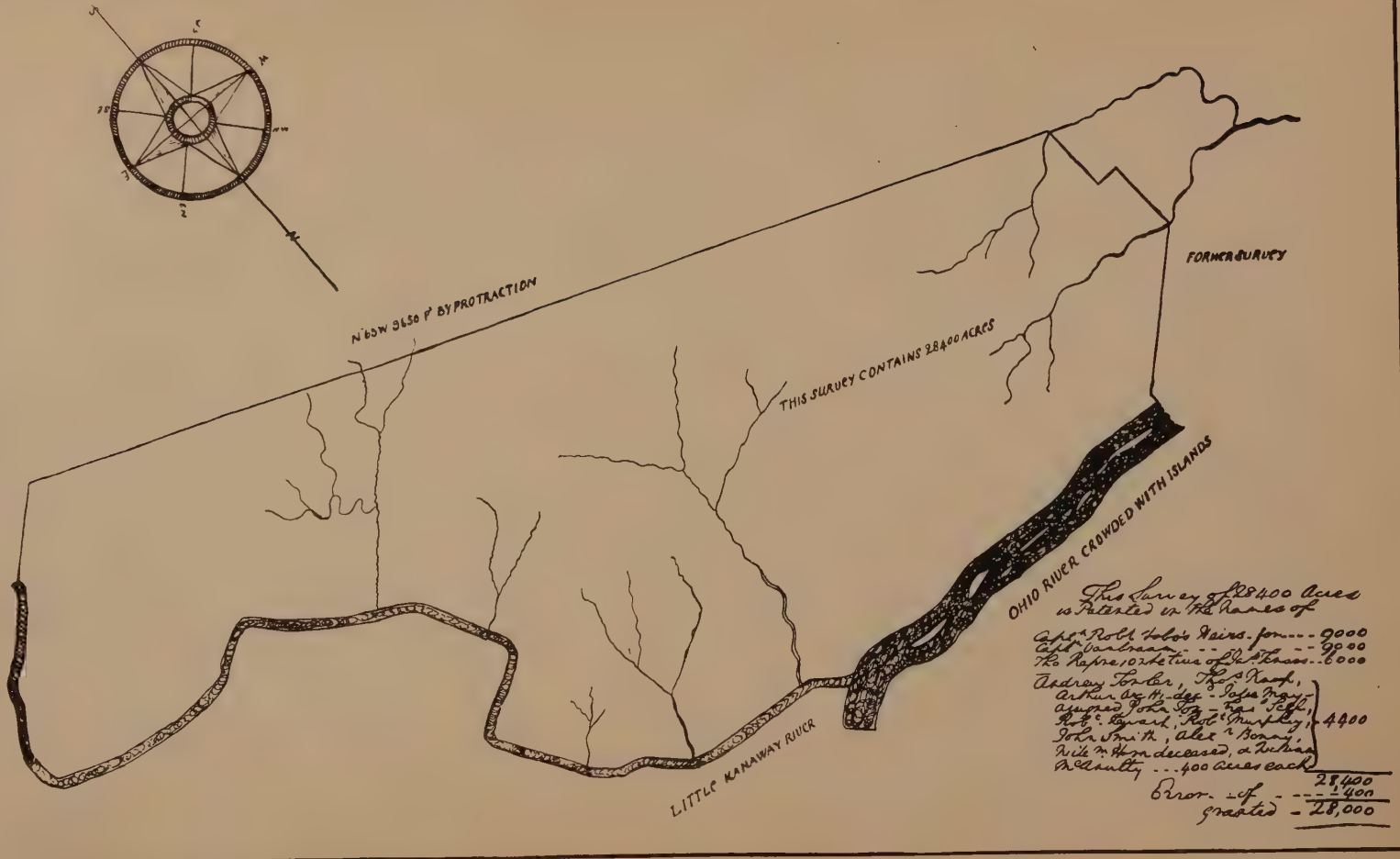
In the Library of Congress is an original patent, issued by Dunmore, dated December 1, 1773, covering this survey.

It grants 28,400 acres, "Lying and being in the county of Botetourt," beginning with the "confluence of the Little Kanawha with the Ohio on the lower side," to "David Richardson (the representative of Robert Stobo), Jacob Van Braam, John Baynes (representative of James Powers), Andrew Fowler, Thomas Napp, Arthur Watts, (representative of John Fox), Francis Selp, Robert Stewart, Robert Murphy, John Smith, Alexander Bonny, William McAnulty, and Mary Horn." It is not out of place to mention that the surveyors "calls" mention a falls in the Little Kanawha; a "remarkable rock;" and a "cabbin," the latter indicating that a settlement had been made thereon prior to 1773.

The mention of Stobo and Van Braam in this connection is of especial interest. They were hostages in the capitulation of the Great Meadows, and after many experiences reached London. As early as November 22, 1771, Washington advised them that "your claim to a share of the 200,000 acres of land," has been entered and discussed at some length, the matter of labor and expense being placed on a few for the benefit of many in the surveying of these lands. Their claims were later purchased by Washington's agent in London.

The entire phase of Washington's interest in the Little Kanawha tract is somewhat obscure, and was made the subject of a special study by Dr. Herbert Adams, who summed it up as follows:

> Crawford had surveyed a large tract of land at the mouth of the Little Kanawha; he had offered to share it with Washington; the latter had applied for Crawford's patent, and had secured certain grants in which he and Crawford were to have joint interest, which grants Crawford had intended to lay upon the lands at the mouth of the Little Kanawha; but Washington, for some reason, desired to make up a quantity of land for himself, in one tract; and Crawford tells him that if he wants the



"Plat of the Survey of the Little Kanawha, 28,400 acres, made in 1773."

whole tract at the mouth of the Little Kanawha he can have it, and he himself will lay warrants, in which he and Washington have a joint interest upon a certain parcel of land "fifteen or twenty miles up that river, on the lower side, and (which) is already run out in tracts of about three thousand and some odd acres; others about twenty-five hundred acres; all well marked and bounded." This interpretation is borne out by the fact that Crawford's name does not appear in the list of patentees, which was written by Washington himself on the above mentioned map of survey, although the tract at the mouth of the Little Kanawha was certainly the one which Crawford originally surveyed for himself, and which he desired to have Washington join him in securing. It is possible that the words "former survey," which are to be seen in the preceding plat, have reference to Crawford's first survey of the locality, a draft of which he sent to Lord Dunmore. It is highly probable that Washington bought up the claims of all the parties, in whose name the patents for the land at the mouth of the Little Kanawha were drawn, as the list itself shows, and secured the entire 28,400 acres for himself in one tract. Washington's practice of attaching purchased warrants to Crawford's land surveys is made evident by the following passage from one of Crawford's letters, dated March 6, 1775. "Inclosed you have two plats which you must affix warrants to yourself and the dates also of the warrants. The land in the two plats is good, it is on the Little Kanawha."

The survey, compared with present day features and later land patents, is very accurate. The words "former survey" pertain to the Washington Bottom survey below the mouth of the Little Kanawha, which was surveyed by Crawford in 1771. The boundaries encompass all the land lying back of this, following the Ohio and Little Kanawha to the northeastern apex of the bend in the river, at present Kanawha Station, in Wood County.

It would appear reasonable to presume that it was intended to include the several islands in the Ohio sector, among which was the one later associated with the name of Herman Blennerhassett, who became owner of the upper section. This then would appear to be the foundation of the traditions that Washington was the first owner of this

"Island Garden of Eden," brought into fame by the scheme of Aaron Burr. Yet there is nothing to support the theory that Washington ever actually owned this tract, even though some authorities state that he sold it before his death. No titles trace back to his ownership. The statement by Sparks and other Washington biographers that he acquired the land warrants of Stobo and Van Braam seem to be abrogated by the local records. It is carried on the land books of Harrison County until the formation of Wood County in 1800.

In 1802, George Creel, Jr., Commissioner of the Revenue, charges David Richardson, Robert Stobo, Jacob Van Braam and others with taxes on 28,400 acres at fifty cents an acre. That it was the subject of some litigation is shown by papers in a suit of William Coleman of Kentucky vs. Richardson, dated April 4, 1808, on file at Staunton, Virginia. An abstract may be found in Chalkley's Records, Volume II, at 167. It is recited that it was awarded for services in Braddock's War, not occupied except by squatters, and that Andrew Fowler, one of the owners, was then living in Botetourt, or Bath County. The last local record in Wood County appears to be the tax charges by Mathias Chapman, Commissioner, in 1813.

Crawford, it seems, made another survey adjoining, of 2,500 acres, which he offered to Washington, as the latter, in his tour to Western Pennsylvania, made a journey to the land office at the home of John Pierpont, in present Monongalia County, West Virginia, to examine the records. On September 24, 1784, he records:

> At this office I could find no information of any surveys or entries made for me by Captain William Crawford, but from an examination of his book it appeared pretty evident that the 2500 acres which he (Crawford) had surveyed for me and offered to me on the Little Kanawha (adjoining the large survey

> under the proclamation of 1754) he had entered for Mr. Robert Rutherford, and that the other tract in the fork between the Ohio and the Little Kanawha had been entered by Dr. Briscoe and sons.

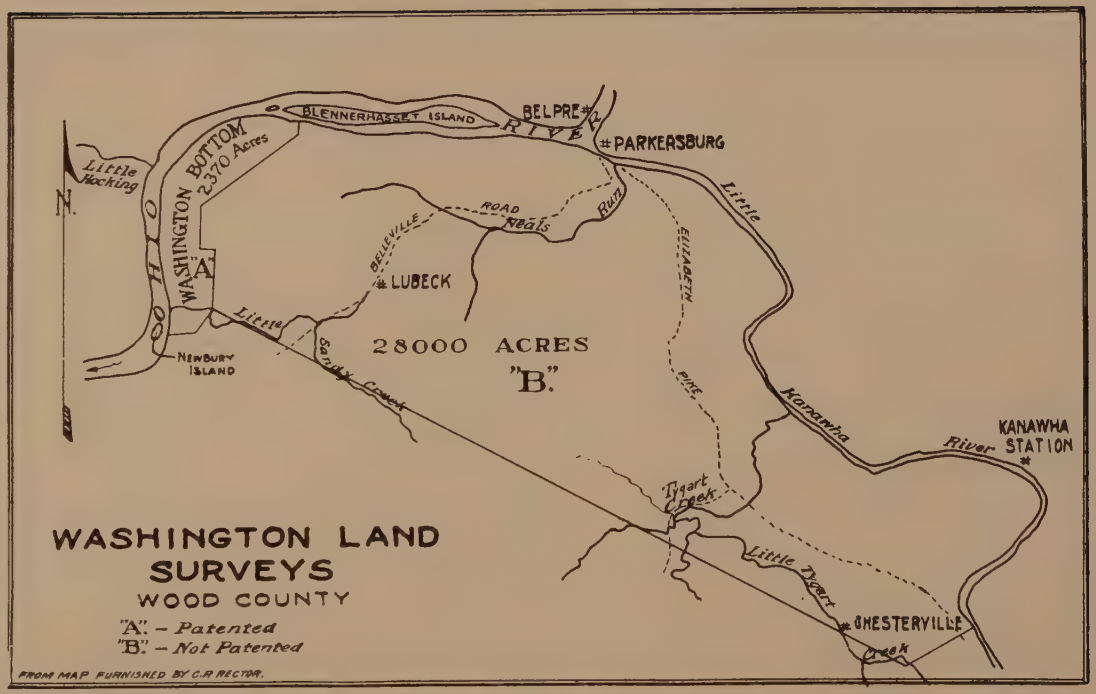
The tract noted as "the other" embraced the site of Vienna, a suburb of the city of Parkersburg. It embraced 400 acres on Briscoe's Run, "a branch of the Ohio about six miles above the mouth of the Little Kanawha," including a settlement made in 1773. Whether Washington had this tract on his memorandum to be surveyed is not known, but the Briscoe family was certainly living thereon in 1775, possibly near present "Midway Station." Below this, John Briscoe, Jr. acquired 400 acres.

Concerning the Rutherford tract, C. R. Rector writes:

> In connection with the statement by Washington that he expected to secure 2500 acres and adjoining a large survey on the Little Kanawha, but found it entered for one Rutherford, it is interesting to observe that to this day a line running away from the river at Kanawha Bend is called the "old Rutherford line." This tract must have therefore been just above the 28,000 survey that Washington for some unknown reason never had patented. E. N. Woodyard, some time surveyor of Wood County, cites that the southern boundary of the old J. B. Beckwith lands, adjoining and above the Washington Bottom lands, of Washington, is designated in early calls as the old "Military Line." This would tend to show that this early and mysterious survey was recognized in some form even though later grants were issued covering the same property.

II

The Washington heirs did not derive profit from all the western lands which, it was assumed, belonged to the estate. Three tracts of land embracing a total of 3,051 acres, located on the Little Miami River in what is now Ohio, and valued by Washington in his schedule of real estate at $15,255.00, were lost. They were located in what was known as the Virginia Military District of Ohio, which had been reserved


BLENNERHASSET ISLAND
BELPRE
RIVER
PARKERSBURG
Little Hocking
N.
OHIO
WASHINGTON BOTTOM
2370 Acres
"A"
ROAD
Reals
Run
BELLEVILLE
LUBECK
Little
Scotty Creek
NEWBURY ISLAND
28000 ACRES
"B."
ELIZABETH
PIKE
Little
Kanawha
River
KANAWHA STATION
Tygart Creek
Little Tygart
CHESTERVILLE
Creek
WASHINGTON LAND SURVEYS
WOOD COUNTY
"A". – Patented
"B". – Not Patented
FROM MAP FURNISHED BY C.R. RECTOR.

to provide lands for its soldiers when, on March 1, 1784, Virginia deeded to the United States all its lands in the Northwest Territory. When the ordinance of 1787 was adopted a vast number of warrants for lands in this reserved area had been issued by the state of Virginia to men who had served in the Revolution. Washington refused to accept any warrants for his own services but he did acquire by purchase two warrants; one for three thousand acres issued to John Rootes, and one for one hundred acres issued to Thomas Cope. In 1787 he engaged Major John O'Bannon, a deputy surveyor of the Virginia District, to locate lands in that district to be covered by the purchased warrants. On January 17, 1788, an entry was made of a survey of 839 acres in Present Franklin Township, Clermont County, and on May 13, 1788, a survey was entered covering 1,235 acres located on the Little Miami River, in present Miami Township. Surveys and entries were also made at the same time of 977 acres lying in present Union and Anderson Townships, on the border of Hamilton and Clermont Counties, all east of the city of Cincinnati. All of these entries and surveys were made under the belief that the title was vested in the state of Virginia. The surveys were reported to the Virginia Land Office by Colonel Richard Anderson, the surveyor of the Virginia Military District of Ohio, and upon this evidence Governor Beverly Randolph issued patents to Washington on December 1, 1790, covering a total of 3,051 acres of land.

On August 10, 1790, Congress passed an act, and Washington as President approved it, designed to cover the same subject in connection with the "military lands." It recognized the state claims but required that all claimants also file evidence with the National Land Office and acquire a Federal patent as well. Five years' time was permitted to all claimants but in some way Washington seems not to have

understood that this would have any effect upon his own holdings. In 1798 it was brought to his attention and he at once set out to try and remedy the situation. He had some correspondence with Rufus Putnam, one of the founders of Marietta, Ohio, and United States land agent at that place, and with Winthrop Sargent, the territorial governor then located at Cincinnati. He also wrote from Mount Vernon, on July 30, 1798 to Colonel Anderson, the surveyor, concerning the lands, "not perceiving how this could happen fairly and not supposing it would be taken from me otherwise without allowing me a hearing." Congress in the meantime had extended the time to 1800 but Washington died before he perfected the title to any part of the property.

The executors of Washington's estate paid taxes on the land for several years, when it became involved in other claims. The conflicting claim set up by others seems not to have been contested, although Congress in 1807 made some legal provision in an attempt to untangle the situation. In 1806, seven years after Washington's death the surveys were virtually "jumped." It developed that Joseph Kerr, had made locations on the same land on warrants issued to John Neville, of Pittsburgh, mentioned elsewhere in the correspondence of Washington, and who had died in 1803. Neville was given warrants for 1905 acres for his services in the Revolutionary War, and Henry Massie, the founder of the city of Portsmouth, Ohio, bought warrants for the balance. New patents were issued in 1807 and Kerr acquired the interest of the Neville heirs.

In 1907 Captain Nelson Evans of Portsmouth, Ohio, undertook to prosecute the Washington claims. Robert E. Lee, Jr., a grandson of General Robert E. Lee, was appointed administrator *de bonis non*, by the county court of Fairfax county, Virginia, in order to attempt to prosecute a

claim against the United States for compensation. In December, 1907, the administrator presented a petition to Congress in which Samuel W. Washington, of Charleston, West Virginia, William Washington, of Manakee, Illinois and Lawrence Washington, of Washington, D. C., joined, but in spite of hearings and a favorable report by a Congressional committee nothing came of this attempt.

Washington also owned, according to his schedule, 5000 acres in Kentucky, which seems to have been embraced in two adjoining surveys, one of 3,000 acres and one of 2,000 acres. It was located on a branch of the Green River known as Rough Creek, a hundred miles or so southwest of Louisville. How he acquired it is a matter of conjecture. For some time the lands were looked after by Colonel Thomas Marshall, the father of Chief Justice John Marshall. General Henry Lee, Fielding Lewis, and Alexander Spotswood and other of Washington's kinsmen held lands in the same section. In later years some of the branches of the Lewis family which had settled on the lands inherited on the Great Kanawha River, in West Virginia, removed to the same region. Washington was attracted to it in part by the "general good qualities of the land" and "there is a valuable Bank of Iron Ore thereon" while the schedule with his will continues to show that "a branch of the Green River affords ample power for Furnaces and forges." Alexander Spotswood, viewed the lands in 1797 and attempted to describe the tract to Washington in a manner designed to replace the fact that the owner had never seen it. In 1810 the executors sent Warner Lewis to Kentucky to view the lands and make a report, but as to the final disposition, if any, there appears to be no record.

CHAPTER VII

WASHINGTON'S PENNSYLVANIA LANDS

A LETTER to William Crawford, September 21, 1767, reflects Washington's first active step to acquire lands in present Pennsylvania. The letter follows in part:

> " . . . . . look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred or two thousand or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning only by this that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer any purpose or expectations so far from navigations and under such a load of expenses as these lands are encumbered with. No, a tract to please me must be rich . . . . and, if possible, level. Could such a piece be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands cannot remain long ungranted when once it is known that rights are to be had . . . ."

The first result of Crawford's work is seen in the acquisition of four tracts in what is now Perry Township, Fayette County, aggregating 1,661 acres. Surveys were made as early as January 7, 1769, at which time Crawford advises Washington that he had a surveyor "run out your land." "I have done it as if for myself, taking in all the good land and leaving out the sorry, only some joining the mill seat." The land warrants were dated April 3, 1769, and issued in the name of Washington, William Athel, John Bishop, John Paty, and Thomas Jones. The other interested parties soon after assigned their rights to Washington —if he did not own them—but a formal patent was not issued until February 28, 1782.

Washington, during his journey into the Ohio basin in 1770, records that he viewed a coal mine on the banks of the

Youghiogheny river, near this point; and that on October 15th he inspected this land, selected by Crawford, the "tract which contains about one thousand, six hundred acres, includes some as fine land as I ever saw, and a great deal of rich meadow. It is well watered and has a valuable mill site."

In the meantime, Gilbert Simpson located on this land, made some improvements, and operated the estate for Washington. Under his direction a fort was erected; and in 1774, with the aid of one Stephens, a millwright, a mill was built about ¾ of a mile from the river, on the stream now called Washington's Run.

The improvement of this property weighed heavily upon the mind of Washington as he entered the opening days of the American Revolution. "I never hear of the mill under the direction of Simpson," he wrote Lund Washington from Cambridge, on August 20, 1775, "without a degree of warmth and vexation at his extreme stupidity, yet if you can spare money for other purposes I could wish to have it sent to him that it may be possible to set going before the works get ruined and spoilt and my whole money perhaps lost." Continuing, he complains of the "expense I am led into by that confounded fellow Simpson, and necessarily so under the management of (James) Cleveland;" yet he laid aside the duties of the army long enough to write "Mr. Milnor to forward a good country boulting cloth for Simpson," to be sent west of the mountains for use in the mill at the earliest opportunity. It was one of the first mills west of "the mountains."

Crawford saw it for the "first time of its running," in 1776, but during the Revolution it fell into disuse. On September 23, 1785, Washington in a letter to Col. Thomas Freeman, his agent, refers to this tract as "Washington's

Bottom," and desired to rent the mill if some one could be found "to build a good and substantial dam where the old one stood, and to erect a proper forebay in the place of the trunk which now conducts water to the wheel, and, in a word, to put the house in proper repair." It was largely rebuilt in 1859, and is still in use.

The Simpson buildings, says Hulbert, in "*Washington and the West*," (1905) were situated near Plant No. 2, of the Washington Coal & Coke Company; he further observes that while Washington examined the "coal outcroppings near here in 1770 it is sure the man never dreamed that the land he purchased, with some contiguous territory, would be valued in a century at above twenty million dollars."

Washington sold this tract to Louis Seares who later transferred it to Thomas Hursey. On this was laid out, in 1814, the plat of the present town of Perryopolis, Pennsylvania.

The tract of land in Great Meadows, near Farmington, was acquired December 6, 1770, at which time Crawford wrote that, "agreeable to your desire I have bought the Great Meadows from Mr. (Lawrence) Harrison for thirty pistoles to be paid to Mr. Jacob Hite." It contained about 234 acres, and was referred to locally as "Mount Washington." The warrant being issued in the name of one William Brooks caused a dispute for a time as to the ownership.

The Great Meadows were about ten miles east of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on the route of the National Highway, and about four miles east of Laurel Hill. This tract carried with it a certain sentimental interest for Washington, inasmuch as he had fought his first battle here at Fort Necessity, which he built in April, 1754, and which was surrendered to the French in July, following. This land was the only tract in Pennsylvania retained by Wash-

ington until his death, and is listed in the schedule attached to his will at six dollars per acre, or at a value of $1,404.00.

The largest tract of land acquired by Washington in Pennsylvania was located on Miller's Run, a branch of Chartier's Creek, in Washington County. The location is a few miles from Canonsburg, and embraces about two thousand, eight hundred acres. To this day it is locally designated as "The Washington Lands," and was then believed to be a part of Augusta County, Virginia.

Acting under instructions from Washington, Crawford in the spring of 1771 made an examination of lands in this region, partly embraced in a grant by the Six Nations to George Croghan. A survey was made and marked by blazed trees. On April 21st he wrote Washington:

> "Agreeable to your request I went to view Col. Croghan's land, but before it could be done the line was to be run, which I intended, and viewed the whole, but I could not find the quantity of land you wanted, nor one thousand acres such as you would like, or such as I would like. . . . What land is worth anything is already taken by somebody, whose survey comes within the line we run. But the colonel is now content with that line, as he thinks it does not include lands enough. I am afraid he has not a proper title to what he is now claiming; but I will avoid giving him any certain answer about the land as long as I can . . . . ."

On August 2d, Crawford advised Washington that he had done nothing with Croghan "in regard to the land you want of him." Croghan, on August 18th, wrote to Washington relative to the subject, and sent a map showing the location of Washington's lands on "Shirtier's Creek." He claimed the land as within his grant, and used every means he could to induce settlers to locate on this specific tract. In this status the land remained until the summer of 1773, when Crawford wrote Washington:

> "Your lands on Chartiers are safe yet but how long they may continue so I do not know, as the people that were going

to settle on them at the time we came down were driven off, but attempted to return in the spring. I shall settle some man on them if possible, and hope by that means to secure them. Everything in my power shall be done. They must be stronger than I and my party are if they take them . . . . ."

On November 12th he wrote further:

"The reason these people sat down upon your land was that Colonel Croghan told them the officers and soldiers could never hold one foot of the land, and he further told them that I had (no) orders from the Governor to survey any land on the Ohio, that it was only a scheme between you and myself. The only chance you have to get land settled is to get some of your people near where you live to settle . . . . or bring up some hired men, set them to work, and clear some land, and then you may rent it for something. I believe that will be the surest way to improve your land, and with the least expense. Several persons are waiting for your land to elapse who intend to fall on it immediately thereafter."

And in a letter dated December 29th, he said:

"Some people, about ten or twelve in number, have gone on your Chartier's land within these few days, and there is no getting them off except by force of arms. They are encouraged by Major Ward, brother (in-law) to Colonel Croghan, who claims the land and says he has a grant of it from the Crown. He will indemnify them, if they will move in any house where no person is living. He also offers the land for sale, warranting the purchaser a lawful title. He further adds that Colonel Croghan says you and I have used his brother very ill, in pretending to buy his land and did not, but went and took the best of it and would not agree to pay him. That was the reason offered for selling the land to any person who should choose to buy . . . . . Those men have not bought of him but took your land, and say they will keep it. I could drive them away, but they will come back immediately—as soon as my back is turned. The man I put on the land they have driven away, and built a house so close to his that he cannot get in at the door . . . . Your land is two miles and better from the utmost limits of his land, as you will see by the way it is laid down on the stream called Miller's Run. When Thompson run the land and made out the draft and delivered it to him, Colonel Croghan said it was not run right. Then he employed Mr. Campbell and told him that the river must be twisted up to the mouth of Peter's creek, as that was the bounds of his lands. When Mr. Campbell had run the line as marked, and

> delivered the draft to him, Colonel Croghan said he had not run the land right; he should have allowed him ten degrees for variation of the compass. Then he got Mr. Hooper and run this last line as you see marked. He then employed Mr. (Dorsey) Pentecost to run thirty thousand acres on the head of Chartier's Creek and Cross Creek. This still left you out; but since then Major Ward takes you and myself and Lund Washington in, and says Colonel Croghan has a grant from the Crown for the land and has given him that part, as low as the mouth of Wheeling."

On January 10, 1774, Crawford advised Washington to take out a patent on these lands to avoid further trouble, and with this procedure in view made a survey. On May 8th the papers were forwarded to Washington, the drafts covering the survey of "your Chartier's land, agreeable to Mr. Lewis' direction." Lord Dunmore, on July 5, 1775, issued a military patent for these lands, describing them as being located in "Augusta county, Virginia, on the waters of Miller's Run, one of the branches of Chartier's Creek, a branch of the Ohio."

Crawford, on December 20, 1776, wrote Washington that many settlers had taken up residence on the land, and made improvements, being under the impression he had no claim to it; or, if he did, that they could lease it on reasonable terms. Some even went so far as to advertise sections for sale, but this movement was thwarted by a public notice issued by Crawford warning against such action. Washington later made an attempt to sell the lands. On August 10, 1779, from Fort Pitt, Crawford writes to Washington, then in the field with the Revolutionary Army, that he had advertised the lands for sale, but the settlers "still remain on the land." Such remained the status until after 1784.

In the fall of 1784 Washington left Mount Vernon, partly to view his Pennsylvania lands, and partly to investigate some means of a waterway across the Allegheny mountains. In due time, he, with his party, arrived in the

community, and on September 18th he records, "set out with Doctor Craik for my land on Millers Run (a branch of Shurtees Creek)." The next day being Sunday, he says, "and the people living on my land, apparently very religious, it was thought best to postpone going among them till tomorrow." On Monday, the 20th, he continues, "went early this morning to view my land and to receive the final determination of those who live upon it." The services of a guide were obtained, as death had removed the helping hand of the loyal Crawford.

The resulting conferences with the local claimants was not satisfactory. There were a number of them, and Washington made a methodical survey of the claims and improvements of each. A joint conference was held at the home of one David Reed, and to this day stories are told in the community concerning the proceedings, especially the actions and words of Washington. Washington finally resolved to resort to the assistance of the courts. Matthew Richie and Captain Thomas Swearingen agreed to secure evidence showing Washington the true owner. In this they were assisted greatly by Col. John Canon, the founder of Canonsburg, located about two miles above the junction of Miller's Run with Chartier's Creek.

Under the direction of Thomas Smith, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, an ejectment suit was entered, which was to come up for trial in the November (1784) term of the Common Pleas Court. It was, however, removed to the Supreme Court and tried before Justice Thomas McKean and Jacob Rush, at Washington, Pennsylvania, October 25, 26 and 27, 1786. A number of the settlers were named in the suit, headed by Samuel McBride, and represented by Hugh M. Brackenridge. The result was a verdict in favor of Washington. Some of the claimants elected to remain on the land as tenants, and others removed to other sections.

Washington, in the meantime, had named Matthew Richie as his local agent and, on June 1, 1796, sold this land to him for $12,000.00, it being reported that it was then sub-divided into thirteen farms. Richie, at his death, devised the tract to Alexander Addison who was to assume an unpaid balance of the purchase price. In March, 1802, Absalom Baird, as Sheriff of Washington County, advertised the tract for sale, it being stated that the boundary contained 2,813 acres, the sale subject to a "certain debt of $6,409.20, being the last two installments due upon a mortgage which is held by Bushrod Washington, William Augustine Washington, George Steptoe Washington, Samuel Washington, and Samuel Lewis, Executors; and Martha Washington, Executrix of Gen. George Washington." The tract was transferred on May 4, 1802, to Alexander Addison, the highest bidder, for sixty dollars, enough to pay the costs. The purchaser by 1810 had disposed of the tract to several parties.

Washington also owned lots 43 and 102 in "Bassett Town," now the city of Washington, Pennsylvania. It appears they were a gift from David Hoge, the founder, and were located at or near the corner of Chartier's and Gay streets. Number 102 is now a part of the campus of Washington and Jefferson College.

CHAPTER VIII

DISPOSITION OF THE WESTERN LANDS

WASHINGTON resigned his commission as commander of the Continental Army on December 23, 1783. He then returned to Mount Vernon, where he again turned his attention to his private affairs, his western lands, and the subject of a waterway to connect with the Ohio Valley. Plans were made that finally culminated in a journey to western Pennsylvania, in the fall of the following year.

In the meantime, the disposition of his lands in that region received some consideration, which involved their possible sale. Dr. John Witherspoon (1722-1794), President of the (then) College of New Jersey, at Princeton, who made some rather disastrous speculations in lands in Vermont, made an inquiry which led to the following letter from Washington:

Mount Vernon, March 10, 1784.

REVEREND SIR: The recourse which I have had to my papers since I returned home, reminds me of a question which you asked me in Philadelphia, respecting my lands to the westward of the Alleghany mountains; to which I was unprepared at that time to give a decided answer, either as to the quantity I had to let or the terms upon which I would lease them.

Upon examination I find that I have patents under the signature of Lord Dunmore (while he administered the government of this State) for about 30,000 acres, and surveys for about 10,000 more, patents for which were suspended by the disputes with Great Britain, which soon followed the return of the warrants to the land-office.

Ten thousand acres of the above thirty (thousand) lie upon the Ohio; the rest on the Great Kenhawa, a river nearly as large, and quite as easy in its navigation, as the former. The whole of it is rich bottom land, beautifully situated on these rivers, and abounding plenteously in fish, wild fowl, and game of all kinds.

The uppermost tract upon the Ohio (which I incline to lease) contains 2314 acres, and begins about four miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa (there are two rivers bearing that name, the uppermost of which is about one hundred and eighty miles below Fort Pitt by water), and has a front on the water of more than five miles. The next is eighteen miles lower down, and contains 2448 acres, with a front on the stream, and a large creek which empties into it, of four miles and upwards. Three miles below this again, on the same stream, and just above what is called the Big Bend, in Evans' map, is a third tract of 1395 acres, with a river front of more than five miles.

Then going to the Great Kenhawa, distant about twelve miles by land, but thirty odd to follow the meanders of the rivers, and beginning within three miles of the mouth, I hold lands on the right and left of the river, and bounded thereby forty-eight miles and a half; all of which, being on the margin of the stream, and extending not more than from half a mile to a mile back, are, as has been observed before, rich, low grounds.

From this description of my lands, with the aid of Evans' or Hutchin's Map, of that country, a good general knowledge of their situation may be obtained by those who incline to become adventurers in the settlement of them; but it may not be improper to observe further, that they were surveyed under the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (granting to each commissioned and non-commissioned officer, according to his rank, and to the private soldier certain quantities) and under a yet older proclamation from Mr. Dinwiddie, then lieutenant-governor of the colony, issued by the advice of his council to encourage and benefit the military adventurers of the year 1754, while the land office was shut against all other applicants. It is not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that those who had the first choice, had five years allowed them to make it, and a large district to survey in, were inattentive to either the quality of the soil, or the advantages of situation.

But supposing no pre-eminence in quality, the title to these lands is indisputable; and, by lying on the south-east side of the Ohio, they are not subject to the claims of the Indians; consequently will be free from their disturbances, and from the disputes, in which the settlers on the north-west side (when the Indians shall permit any) and even on the same side lower down will be involved; for it should seem that there is already location upon location and scarce anything else talked of but land jobbing and monopolies, before Congress have even settled

the terms upon which the ceded lands are to be obtained . . . .

With sentiments of great esteem and respect, I am, etc.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

In 1784, two years after the death of Crawford, Washington found it desirable to appoint an agent to care for his western lands. On September 17th, while at Gilbert Simpson's during his visit to western Pennsylvania, he recorded that he "agreed this day with Major (Thomas) Freeman to superintend my business over the mountains upon terms to be inserted in his instructions." The instructions dated September 24th, read in part:

> The situation of my affairs on the western waters in the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia requiring a superintendent and you having been pleased to accept the appointment, I must beg leave to point out to you the performance of such duties as are particularly necessary.
>
> There will be to settle tenants upon my lands; collect the rents which will arise therefrom, the debts which will proceed from the sale of my co-partnership effects; and, in general, to act and do (where no particular instruction is given) in the same manner as you would do for yourself under like circumstances; endeavoring in all cases by fair and lawful means to promote my interest in this country.
>
> My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa will be rented on the terms contained in a printed advertisement herewith given you, and, as my disbursements will be great, I should prefer the last mentioned therein to the other two, as the immediate profit arising therefrom is greatest. It is my wish also that each tract could be rented on the same terms though I do not bind you thereto.
>
> Where acts of Providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient in the exaction of rent, but when the cases are otherwise, I would not be put off because it is on these my own expenditures depend and because any accumulation of undischarged rents is a real injury to the tenant.

The attempts to rent the Ohio and Kanawha lands were a failure if, indeed, any were made at all. Indian affairs added to the perplexities and, in the handling of Washington's Pennsylvania lands, Freeman made more or less a

failure. On August 16, 1786, he visited Mount Vernon; on the following day, after settling his accounts, Washington noted that he had "engaged him to continue his agency till he should remove to Kentucke and then put all my bonds in the hands of Lawyer Smith to bring suit on." An entry in Washington's "Ledger B" shows that on or about May 17, 1787, bonds and notes were put in the hands of Thomas Smith to recover money for "effects and rents due from my estate in Fayette County, Pa."

Ten years passed; the lands still unsold or leased. In furtherance of his plans Washington wrote to Presley Neville, of Pittsburgh:

Philadelphia, June 16, 1794.

Sir—I should have written you at an earlier period, but for the extreme hurry into which I was thrown at the close of the session of Congress, which did not terminate before Monday last, and from my not having adverted, in time, to the Pittsburgh postday of last week. This letter, as I shall set out for Virginia, tomorrow, is left to go by next Saturday's mail.

Inclosed is a blank power, authorizing Mr. Charles Morgan, or any other with whose name you shall fill it, to collect the rents arising from my land in Fayette and Washington counties in this State, together with such arrearages as may be due for the preceeding years, if any there be. Another blank is also left, which I pray you to fill up with the percentage to be allowed as a compensation for the trouble and expense of collection. The inducements to this are, first, because I do not recollect what Colonel Cannon (John Canon, of Canonsburg, Pa.) has been allowed for his services; and, secondly, because there is no invariable allowance established places and circumstances varying it.

A letter from Colonel Cannon is also inclosed, requesting him to give the necessary information to his successor, and to desire that he would discontinue all further agency in my business. This letter is left open, for your insertion of the name of his successor. The emolument arising from this collection is too trifling to become an object worthy your acceptance, or I should never have inquired for another before I had offered it to you.

From the experience of many years, I have found distant property in land more pregnant of perplexities than profit. I

have therefore resolved to sell all I hold on the western waters, if I can obtain the prices which I conceive their quality, their situation, and other advantages would authorize me to expect. Conversing with Mr. Ross, one of your senators, on this subject, a day or two before he left the city, he gave it to me as his opinion that the present juncture was favorable for the sale of my land in this State, and was so obliging as to offer his services to effect it. He thought the quality of my land in Fayette county, together with the improvements and show of iron ore within less than thirty yards of the mill door, ought on credit to command six dollars (an acre). The other I have always held at four dollars. The former tract contains 1,644 acres; the latter, 2,813 acres by the patent, but it measures more than 3,000 acres by subsequent survey.

If, Sir, as you live at Pittsburgh, the probable place of inquiring after land in that country, you should find it convenient, and not militating against any plans of your own, to make mention of mine, and to aid Mr. Ross in the sale of these tracts, it would oblige me.

If a fourth of the purchase money is paid at the time of conveyance, a credit of four, five or six years might be allowed for the remainder, provided it is fully secured, and the interest thereon regularly paid at one of the banks in this state—Baltimore, Georgetown, or Alexandria. To receive this without trouble and with punctuality, as it becomes due, will be insisted upon.

My land on the Ohio and Great Kenhawa rivers, amounting to 32,373 acres, was once sold for sixty-five thousand French crowns, to a French gentleman, who was very competent to the payment at the time the contract was made; but getting a little embarrassed in his finances by the revolution in his country, by mutual agreement the bargain was cancelled. Lately I have been in treaty for the same land, at three dollars and a third per acre for the whole quantity; but, being connected with other matters, it is not likely to result in a bargain as I once expected, and therefore I am at liberty to seek another market.

To give a further description of these lands than to say they are the cream of the country in which they are in, that they were the first choice of it, and that the whole is on the margin of the rivers, and bounded thereby for fifty-eight miles, would be unnecessary to you, who must have a pretty accurate idea of them and their value. But it may not be amiss to add, for the information of others, that the quantity before mentioned is contained in seven surveys, to-wit: Three on the Ohio, east side, between the mouths of the Little and Great Kenhawas. The first is the first large bottom below the mouth

of the Little Kenhawa, containing 2,314 acres, and is bounded by the river five miles and a quarter. The second is the fourth large bottom, on the same side of the river, about sixteen miles lower down, containing 2,448 acres, bounded by the river three miles and a quarter. The third is the next large bottom, three miles and a half below, and opposite nearly to the Great Bend, containing 4,395 acres, with a margin on the river of five miles. The other four tracts are on the Great Kenhawa. The first of them contains 10,990 acres, on the west side, and begins within two or three miles of the mouth of it, and is bounded thereby for more than seventeen miles. The second is on the east side of the river, a little higher up, containing 7,276 acres, and bounded by the stream thirteen miles. The other two are at the mouth of Cole river, on both sides, and in the fork thereof, containing together 4,950 acres, and, like the others, are all interval land, having a front upon the water of twelve miles.

Besides these I have the Round Bottom, opposite to Pipe Creek, about fifteen miles below Wheeling, which contains 587 acres (actually over 1200), with two miles and a half front on the river, and of quality inferior to none thereon; and 234 acres at the Great Meadows, on Braddock's road, with the allowances.

For the whole of these tracts taken together I would allow seven years' credit, without requiring a fourth of the purchase money to be paid down, provided the principal is amply secured, and the interest also, in the manner before mentioned; for to have no disappointment or trouble in the receipt of this must be a sine qua non. If the tracts are sold separately, I should expect a fourth of the purchase to be paid down, and more than three dollars and a quarter per acres for the Round Bottom and the tract of 10,990 acres on the Great Kenhawa, knowing from my own view the extraordinary value of these tracts.

With very great esteem and regard, I am, etc.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

On February 20, 1796, the *Columbian Mirror* and *Alexandria Gazette* carried an advertisement of Washington's lands for rent and sale. Included therein were the following on the Ohio and Great Kanawha:

FOR SALE

THE FOLLOWING LANDS—viz:

On the Ohio River, in four tracts

The first, called Round Bottom, is about 15 miles below Wheeling, a little above Captenon, and opposite to Pipe Creek; bounded by the river in a circular form for 2 miles and 120 poles, containing 587 acres.

Second. Is the first large bottom below the mouth of the Little Kanhawa, beginning 3 or 4 miles therefrom, and about 12 or 15 miles below Mariatte. Its breadth on the river is 5 miles and 120 poles, and contents 2314.

Third. Is about 20 miles still lower down; being the 4th large bottom on the S. E. side the river, below the Little Kanhawa. It is bounded by the river 3 miles and 52 poles, and is furnished (as I have been informed) with an excellent mill seat; contents 2448 acres.

Fourth. Is the next large bottom (on the same side of the river) and a little above the Great Bend thereof; its breadth on the river is 5 miles and 70 poles, and contents 4395 acres.

Total on the Ohio, S. E. side thereof, 9744 acres.

On the Great Kanhawa, in four tracts.

The first is on the west side of the river, beginning within 2 or 3 miles of its confluence with the Ohio; about the same distance from the town of Mount Pleasant, and about 6 or 8 from Galipolis. It borders on the river 17 miles and 51 poles, and contents 10990 acres.

Second. Is on the East side of the river a little higher up and bounded thereby 12 miles and 227 poles, containing 7276 acres.

Third. Is at the conflux of the Kanhawa and Cole Rivers (west side of the former) and in the fork thereof, and bounded by the two rivers 5 miles and 88 poles. Contents 2000 acres.

Fourth. Is on the East side nearly opposite to the last mentioned, 6 miles and 19 poles, contents 3000 acres.

Total on the Kanhawa 23266 acres.

As it is not more presumable than it is wished, that all who are inclinable to become purchasers of these lands will themselves or by agents in whom they can confide, examine them critically; nothing more will be said relative to them, than that they may be considered as the cream of the country in which they lye, being the richest interval lands on the two rivers, to the extent that has been enumerated; that is, in the aggregate 57 miles. That they were surveyed before any settlements, or grants of land were made therein. That all of them are patented in my name many years ago, some near 25; and that the titles to them are indisputable.

The terms on which all the lands herein offered for sale may be purchased, are:

One fourth of the cost to be paid when the bargains are concluded, and the conveyance shall be made.

The other three-fourths in five years, with interest, annually, and punctually paid.

A mortgage upon the premises will be taken for securing payment of the unpaid principal sum, at the end of the above term of five years; and unquestionable security for the punctual payment of the interest on the day, in every year that it shall be come due, at the place of my residence; or to any agent I may appoint; or be deposited in such bank or banks as shall be agreed.

As these lands, particularly on the Ohio and Great Kanhawa, are unquestionably among the most valuable on the western waters; and I am willing to allow time to explore them, I will enter into no contracts for any part of them until the first of September next; but will receive proposals at any time previous thereto. On that day a preference will be given to the person or persons who shall have made the highest offer; provided they are adequate to the real value of land, and the terms herein mentioned are strictly entered into, and compliance therewith is secured.

The plats, and Surveyors' report, of all these lands may be seen by any who are inclined to become adventurers in the purchase of any, or all of them by applying to Mr. Dandridge.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, Feb. 1st, 1796.

An insight into the status of Washington's lands on the Ohio and Kanawha, at the time of his death, can be gleaned from his will dated July 9, 1799, and written a few months before he died. Prior to the execution of this, according to Adams, he had disposed of the "28,400 acres at the mouth of the Little Kanawha," if indeed he ever owned it at all. Adams further observes that in all "he actually owned in 1799 over 70,000 acres of land which he had originally secured for speculative purposes."

The will covers 29 pages, each duly signed by Washington, and while it will be found singularly complete and minute in the disposition of a vast estate, it is also an exceedingly human document. It was proved in a court held for the county of Fairfax, on January 20, 1800, being

presented by George Steptoe Washington, Samuel Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, three of the executors mentioned in the will. After providing for numerous bequests to various parties, section five provided that "all of the residue of my estate real or personal" shall be sold by the executors, the proceeds "to be divided into twenty-three equal parts and applied as follows:"

> To William Augustine Washington, Elizabeth Spottswood, Jane Thornton, and the heirs of Ann Ashton; son and daughters of my deceased brother Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath four parts, that is one part to each of them.
>
> To Fielding Lewis, George Lewis, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis and Betty Carter, sons and daughter of my deceased sister Betty Lewis, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them.
>
> To George Steptoe Washington, Lawrence Augustine Washington, Harriet Parks, and the heirs of Thornton Washington, sons and daughter of my deceased brother Samuel Washington, I give and bequeath other four parts, one to each of them.
>
> To Corbin Washington, and the heirs of Jane Washington, son and daughter of my deceased brother, John Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them. To Samuel Washington, Francis Ball and Mildred Hammond, son and daughter of my brother Charles Washington, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them, and to George Fayette Washington, Charles Augustine Washington, and Maria Washington, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew, George Augustine Washington, I give one other part—that is—to each a third of that part.
>
> To Elizabeth Parke Law, Martha Parke, Peter and Eleanor Parke Lewis, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is a part to each of them.
>
> And to my nephews Bushrod Washington and Lawrence Lewis, and to my ward (G. W. Parke Custis) the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part—that is a third to each of them—And if it should so happen that any of the persons whose names are here ennumerated (unknown to me) should be now deceased, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefit of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at that time.

This section of the will governed to a large degree the final disposition of the lands on the Ohio and Kanawha, and pointed out that it would be well not to be hasty in the matter of a sale as time would bring increased values. To the will was attached a schedule covering an inventory of various tracts, the location and a fair valuation, together with some additional notes relative to each.

The tract at Round Bottom had been sold prior to this to McClain; but, as will be noted, final payment had not been made.

The schedule is dated July 9, 1799, and, besides enumerating 5,000 acres on Rough Creek, in Kentucky, and 3,051 on the Little Miami, near Cincinnati, along with other land holdings, lists the following:

Lands on the Ohio.

Round Bottom	587	
Little Kanhawa	2,314	
Sixteen Miles Lower Down	2,448	
Opposite Big Bent	4,305	
	9,744	$97.440.

(Note)

1. These several tracts of land are the first quality on the Ohio River, in the parts where they are situated, being almost if not altogether river bottom. The smallest of these tracts is actually sold at ten dollars an acre, but the consideration therefor not received. The rest are equally valued and will sell high, especially that which lies just below the Little Kanhawa, and is opposite to a thick settlement on the west side of the river. The four tracts have an aggregate breadth upon the river of sixteen miles, and are bounded thereby.

Lands on the Great "Kanhawha."

Near the mouth west	10,990	
East side above	7,276	
Mouth of Cole River	2,000	
Opposite thereto	2,950	
Burning Springs	125	
	23,341	$200,000

(Note)

> K—These tracts are situated upon the Great Kanhawa River, and the first four are bounded thereby for more than forty miles. It is acknowledged by all who have seen them (and of the tract containing 10,990 acres which I have been on myself I can assert) that there are no richer or more valuable land in all that region. They are conditionally sold for the sum mentioned in the schedule, that is 200,000 dollars, and if the terms of that sale are not complied with they will command considerable more. The tract of which the 125 acres is a moiety, was taken up by General Andrew Lewis and myself, for, and on account of a bituminous spring, which it contains, of so inflamable a nature as to burn as freely as spirits and is nearly as difficult to extinguish.

These lands were not sold as directed in the will. At the suggestion of Judge Bushrod Washington, a plan of division was worked out and submitted to the heirs in June, 1802. It resulted in a meeting of the legatees, or representatives, at Alexandria, on July 19, at which an agreement was prepared and signed. One provision read:

> Agreed that the lands on the Great and Little Kanhawa and on the Ohio be divided and the residue of the lands be sold by the executors. The lands in the Northwest Territory and in Kentucky are included in those which are to be sold.

In compliance with provision, and evidenced by a record on file at Charleston, West Virginia, the executors "did constitute and appoint a certain Gabriel Lewis to examine, survey and lay off the said lands into twenty three equal shares or parts." The work of surveying, mapping and dividing consumed the better part of three years, as it was not until 1805 that the partition deed was executed and the lands allotted to the various heirs by the District Court for the County of Alexandria. A copy of this document in the hands of the writer is dated July 5, 1805, and certified for record to the "general court of the Commonwealth of Virginia." It reads as follows:

To Whom It May Concern: Be it remembered that the underwritten persons claiming as legatees under the will of Gen'l George Washington decd. having agreed to divide all the lands of the said decedent lying on the western waters except those tracts on the west side of the Ohio and those in Kentucky which said lands so agreed to be divided have been surveyed and especially divided into twenty-three parts according to quantity and quality which said survey and division the undernamed do hereby ratify and confirm.

And whereas the undernamed acting for themselves, or as guardians for other legatees, or by virtue of power granted by absent legatees, have drawn lots for the respective tracts as surveyed and divided and upon examining the same they are found respectively to be entitled to the tracts of land hereinunder mentioned; Now know ye that we the undersigned do severally and respectively for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, hereby ratify and confirm the said division and allotment and do bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators to execute and perform any act or acts which may be necessary for confirming the division hereby made. It is perfectly understood that the numbers prefixed to each name respectively refers to the tract of land in the annexed surveys to which each person is entitled under this division.

In witness whereof we hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals this 5 day of June, 1805.

Number 1.	Charles Carter	1186 acres
Number 2.	George Steptoe Washington	1186 acres
Number 3.	Thomas Peter	1425 acres
Number 4.	Mrs. Ann Ashton's Heirs	1425 acres
Number 5.	Andrew Parks	1400 acres
Number 6.	Mrs. Eliza Law	1100 acres
Number 7.	George Lewis	1300 acres
Number 8.	Fielding Lewis's Heirs	1300 acres
Number 9.	Washington Lewis and Custis	1200 acres
Number 10.	Lawrence Lewis	1207 acres
Number 11.	Wm. A. Washington (for self)	1202 acres
Number 12.	Geo. A. Washington Heirs— by Burwell Bassett—his guardian	1180 acres
Number 13.	Wm. A. Washington—for children	1160 acres
Number 14.	Col. John Thornton	1100 acres
Number 15.	Robert Lewis	1100 acres
Number 16.	Thornton Washington's Heirs by Lawrence Washington exr.	1100 acres

Number 17. Howell Lewis _____ 1531 acres
Number 18. Samuel Washington _____ 2233 acres
Number 19. Lawrence A. Washington _____ 3110 acres
Number 20. Alexander Spotswood _____ 1311 acres
Number 21. Francis Peyton _____ 880 and 670 acres
Number 22. Thomas Hammond _____ 1300 acres
Number 23. Corbin Washington's Heirs _____ 1330 acres

In testimony of the above we have hereunto set our hands and seals the day and year above mentioned.

Charles Carter by Lawrence Lewis and Howell Lewis, Atty.
George Washington
Thomas Peter
B. Ashton, Jr.
Ann Ashton, by B. Ashton, Jr., her attorney
B. Ashton
N. Fitzhugh
Andrew Parks, by Bushrod Washington, his Atty.
Mrs. Law, by Thomas Peter, her Atty.
Alexander Spottswood, Junr and Lawrence Lewis, for the heirs of Fielding Lewis, deceased.
Bushrod Washington
Lawrence Lewis and George W. P. Custis
Lawrence Lewis
Wm. Aug't Washington (for self)
G. A. Washington's Heirs, by H. Bassett, their guardian
Wm. Augt. Washington (for children)
F. Thornton
George Lewis, by Bushrod Washington, his Atty.
Robert Lewis
Lawr. Washington, Guardian for Sa'l Washington
Thornton S. Washington
Howell Lewis
Samuel Washington
Law. A. Washington
Alexander Spottswood, Deed to be made to John Augustine Spottswood (see power of attorney in hands of Judge Washington)
Fra. H. Peyton

Thomas Hammond by George A. Washington, Thos. Lee, Guardian of Corbin Washington's Heirs, by Bushrod Washington.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of us Nathanl C. Hunter, John Easly, S. Snowden.

Washington, like many speculators in our own day, did not nearly realize what he expected from his investment in time and money. As he pointed out to Neville, in 1794, he had found the ownership of land far away from his personal supervision "more pregnant of perplexities than profits." But in the end, he builded better than he knew; others followed his example, and in time these properties became of immense value, aside from their bearing on the future of America.

Washington's Pennsylvania lands were underlaid with great stores of coal. One tract alone is conservatively valued now at over $20,000,000. One tract on the Ohio, likewise underlaid with coal, and one on the Great Kanawha, may be valued on a similar basis of appraisal. As farm lands they now command a great value; on them are the towns of St. Albans, Dunbar and Ravenswood, with the correspondingly high value of city property. It would indeed be an unending task to set a fair value on his holdings.

At the close of the Revolution, Washington could have received, if he had desired, grants for millions of acres of land. But to his everlasting honor he stuck to his declaration that his expenses were all that he desired from the people. In connection with an ejectment case in October, 1786, he felt keenly the suggestion that his old friend Crawford was a monopolizer of land. "Indeed," he wrote, "comparatively speaking, I possess very little land on the western waters; to attempt to deprive me of the little I have, is, considering the circumstances under which I have been, and the inability of attending to my own affairs, not only

unjust but pitifully mean." And breathes there a man has delved into the life of the "Father of his Country" who does not wholly agree that it would have been "pitifully mean."

Washington was one of the first Americans to see the importance of the regions beyond the Alleghenies to the new republic. His relations with the Ohio basin property and his fellowmen are above the slightest taint of false dealing. The most biting critic of the men who have produced America must eventually join that great host of admirers who agree that he who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," was indeed one of the greatest men of all time.

CHAPTER IX

WASHINGTON'S OTHER LANDS

THE PARTICULAR purpose of this study is to give a detailed account of Washington's land holdings in the Ohio Valley, the West Virginia of today, but it would not be complete without a brief survey of his lands elsewhere.

Washington had the "land hunger" of his day. To all sagacious men of the period it was evident that at some time in the future, as the country was settled, land would become very valuable. They bought it with a view to the future, and, as often as not, profited little from it. Bad surveys, defective titles, squatters, and other evils, played havoc with speculative profits.

Contrary to popular impression, Washington was not born wealthy, though he died one of the richest men (in land) in the United States. His father, Augustine Washington, was a vast holder of cheap land, but George's own inheritance consisted of the farm of 280 acres on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, where he lived as a boy, some land on Deep Run, and some lots in Fredericksburg, together with a few slaves.

His first stroke of fortune was his accession to Mount Vernon. This estate was owned by his half-brother, Lawrence Washington, who died in 1752. It had been acquired by the Washington family in 1674, and George had a reversionary right in it. The estate went to George, but Lawrence's widow retained a life interest in it. Washington paid her 15,000 pounds of tobacco, equal in value to about $465.00, each year of her life. It will be seen that

Mount Vernon was not very valuable then, nor has it ever been valuable for farming purposes, for the soil is poor.

Washington's estate suffered by his absence in the Virginia army during the period of the French and Indian war, when he was on the frontier. However, he restored his fortune by marrying the woman who was probably the richest heiress in Virginia at that time, Martha Custis, relict of Daniel Parke Custis. She brought him an estate consisting mostly of money, currency or loans on bonds, with some Bank of England stock, with perhaps so much as $100,000.00. This property, by the law of the times, became Washington's, and he so treated it. When Martha Washington's daughter died in 1773, there came a further accession of money. Washington was now rich for the times, but much of this money was lost by the depreciation of the currency in the Revolution.

Mount Vernon, when Washington came into possession of it, contained only 2,500 acres. He soon set to work to enlarge it, buying in 1759 of Bryan Fairfax 275 acres on Difficult Creek, and later 100 acres from George Mason, of Gunston Hall. After much difficulty, and at considerable expense, he obtained a tract of 1,806 acres, called Brents. Some years afterward, he bought the Posey plantation just next to Mount Vernon, and gradually extended his holdings until Mount Vernon, when he died, consisted of 9,000 acres. He also owned a ferry and a fishery.

By 1771 Washington had become an extensive landowner. He had 5,518 acres in Fairfax County, 1,498 in Frederick, 1,250 in King George, 240 in Hampshire, 275 in Loudoun, 2,682 in Loudoun-Fauquier, 12,463 on which he paid quit rents, and probably there was a good deal of other land.

He not only obtained Western lands by bounty warrants and by purchase, but he became interested in various land

companies—the Walpole Grant, Mississippi Company, Military Company of Adventurers, Dismal Swamp Company—this last being the only one that succeeded. Washington valued his interest in it at $20,000.00, probably too high a figure.

Washington was much impressed by the region of the Mohawk river in New York, and in 1784 bought a tract of 6,000 acres on the river—this in partnership with George Clinton, paying 1,875 pounds for his share. In 1793 he sold two-thirds of his half for 3,400 pounds, and in his will valued the remainder at $6,000.00.

In one way or another he went on acquiring lands to the time of his death. He inherited a tract in Stafford County from his mother; he won some lots in a lottery. He bought land, and he took it in payment of debts.

In his will Washington estimated his holdings at 60,200 acres. Of this amount he willed 9,227 acres to individuals, leaving 50,975 (some of which had been sold and partly paid for) to be disposed of. He valued the land he gave away at $220,000.00, and the land and other property not given to individuals at $530,000.00. On the basis of this estimate historians have spoken of Washington as a millionaire. This was a mistake. His land was worth not nearly so much as he supposed it to be worth—at least his heirs did not obtain from it what he thought its market value to be. In fact, Washington was land poor. He possessed a princely estate in acreage, but little of it was productive, and his income was modest enough for the size of his property.

It is to be noted that Washington realized the superior potentialities of town property. Though it was a period of small places and though he lived in the country, he owned lots in Alexandria, Washington, Manchester, Richmond, Fredericksburg, Bath, and Edinburgh, an abortive town in Prince George County.

At the time he made his will, he had sold nearly all his land in Pennsylvania, and most of that in New York; also, his share in the Dismal Swamp reclamation, as well as some lands in Gloucester and Loudoun Counties—lands that had not been fully paid for.

Washington's lands at his death were widely scattered. He still owned 234 acres in Pennsylvania, at the Great Meadows; 5,000 acres in Kentucky; 1,119 acres in Maryland; thousands of acres on the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers; and in Virginia, acreage in Loudoun, Fauquier, Berkeley, Frederick, Hampshire, Gloucester, Nansemond Counties.

Washington was burdened by his vast estate, most of which was unproductive, and which he could not sell to advantage. In 1797 he thought seriously of attempting to get tenants to farm some of his lands, but gave up the idea as impracticable. In that day of "dirt-cheap" farms, good tenants could not be obtained; every farmer worth his salt was a landowner.

Washington in his will divided his Mount Vernon estate. The house with 4,000 acres went to his nephew Bushrod Washington. To his nephew and step-granddaughter, Lawrence Lewis and Nellie Custis Lewis, he left 2,000 acres of the best land. They built Woodlawn on it. To two other nephews he left 2,000 acres at Little Hunting Creek on the Potomac. To George Washington Parke Custis, his step-grandson and ward, he left 1,200 acres on Four-Mile Run, near Alexandria, and a block in Washington City.

Through this last bequest Washington came into direct contact with Robert E. Lee. It appears that George W. P. Custis built Arlington on land inherited from his father, but the estate on Four-Mile Run, or what was left of it, descended to the children of Robert E. Lee at the former's

death in 1857. Custis also willed Lee himself a lot in Washington City, doubtless a part of the block left by Washington.

Most of the Washington lands soon passed out of the family, much of it being sold in the settlement of the estate. Washington, after willing certain tracts to favorites, directed that the remainder of his property be disposed of and pooled. The pool was divided into twenty-three shares, a share for each of twenty-three individuals.

Some of the land was never even obtained by the heirs, the titles in some cases proving defective. Many years later Robert E. Lee, Jr., petitioned Congress for a payment to the heirs in lieu of the lost lands, but Congress had not granted compensation to the Washington heirs for the lands lost or disposed of under disadvantageous circumstances. If the estate could have been held together for several generations it would have been worth millions; at the time of Washington's death, when the division was made, it was not very valuable; many of the heirs obtained little.

CHAPTER X

WASHINGTON WEST OF THE BLUE RIDGE

THE EVENTS in the life of Washington as connected with all of his activities and interests in the great region reaching from the Blue Ridge to the Ohio basin are partly outside of the scope of this volume. Some of them are familiar to the reader of any school history, and other phases are covered in detail by several excellent works heretofore published. But in spite of all this, and of the fact that no mystery exists about any day or year of the life of this most methodical man, a great mass of local legends has come into existence which, not unlike a number of jumbled pages of history, lead the reader or the listener to believe that Washington surveyed lands he never saw, held meetings in caves he never beheld, and carved his initials on places far removed from the touch of his hand in life. It seems well not to dismiss the subject of his relations with the west, his landholdings, and his contemporary movements, without giving a reasonably complete outline of his connection with the region west of the Blue Ridge—the frontier of that day—during his lifetime.

Washington's interest in the "West" of that day, and his activities therein, revolve essentially around three phases of a most unusual and active life: (1) As an engineer in surveying lands; (2) as a military leader in the French and Indian war; and (3) as an exponent of the development of this region by means of internal improvements and land ownership.

Early in his youth Washington became an inmate of the home of his brother, Lawrence, at Mount Vernon. Here

WASHINGTON'S OFFICE, WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA. After Gen. Braddock's defeat (July 1755) by the French and Indians near Fort Duquesne, Lieut.-Col. George Washington was given command of the colonial forces on the frontier. Washington then built Fort Loudoun at Winchester, and while supervising this work (1756-7) he occupied the building shown above. During this time three companies of Virginia troops were quartered within a stockade built upon the lot to the southward. Prior to the French and Indian War (1749-53) Washington had used this building as an office while employed by Lord Fairfax as a surveyor.

he became intimately acquainted with Lord Fairfax; with his cousin and agent, Colonel William Fairfax, of Belvior, and George William Fairfax, the son of the latter. Young William Fairfax was a surveyor for Lord Fairfax, the owner of a vast domain extending from northwest of the Rappahannock to west of the Shenandoah Valley. He made Washington his assistant and taught him much of the art of surveying. In March, 1748, Fairfax and Washington, boys of twenty and sixteen, started on a surveying trip to the lower Shenandoah Valley. Washington, in his methodical way, set down in his journal the notation that on Saturday, the twelfth, "we travell'd over ye Blue Ridge" through Ashby's Gap to John Ashby's, who ran a ferry where the road from the east crossed the Shenandoah on the way to "Frederick Town," now Winchester, in Frederick County. Arriving near present Winchester, Monday, the fourteenth, Washington recorded that "we sent our baggage to Capt. Jost Hite," an early settler in the valley, while "we went ourselves down ye river about 16 miles" to lay off some lands "on the Long Marsh." This took the party onto the waters of Long Marsh Run, a small stream that joins the Shenandoah just inside the limits of present Jefferson County, West Virginia. On Friday (18th), the two young men reached the Potomac River some distance above present Harpers Ferry, and during the day "call'd to see ye famed Warm Springs"—ample evidence that the springs, at present Berkeley Springs, West Virginia, had even then attracted wide attention. On Wednesday (16th), the surveyors "finished about one o'clock & then travel'd up to Frederick Town (Winchester) where our baggage came to us we cleaned ourselves (to get rid of y. Game we catched y. night before) & then took a review of y. town & thence returned to our lodgings."

The twenty-first found the party at the home of Colonel Thomas Cresap, who lived on the Maryland side of the Potomac just above the junction with the South Branch of the Potomac. Here they were entertained by thirty Indians who were in the "Humour of Dauncing," as Washington noted. By the next Friday (25th), they are found at work at Abram Johnson's, on Patterson's Creek, pausing to visit Solomon Hedges, an early justice of that community. The work took them to the home of Henry Van Metre (27th) on the South Branch; and on April first, land was surveyed for Elias Sellers, at the mouth of Patterson's Creek.

During the week following eighteen lots of land were surveyed, and much of the time, Washington records, they were "attended by a great company of people," who spoke German. On Sunday (10th), leaving the South Branch, as Washington noted, "over hills and mountains" and crossing the "Great Cacapehon" the surveyors arrived at Winchester (11th). Leaving this point (12th) en route to Mount Vernon, they saw a "Rattled Snake ye first we had seen in all our journey."

Such was Washington's introduction to the land west of the Blue Ridge. In December (1748), he took a course in surveying at William and Mary College, at Williamsburg, and obtained his official license. In July, 1749, Washington was appointed to the post of public surveyor. He was thenceforth quite often at the home of Lord Fairfax which had been established at Greenway Court near Winchester. On October thirtieth he arrived at Winchester, and then proceeded to make some surveys near the site of Wardensville, Hardy County, and Capon Bridge in Hampshire County, along the Cacapon River, in West Virginia. He returned to Winchester in time to attend court on the fourteenth, remarking that "he had not sleepe'd above three

nights or four in a bed" during that part of November preceding.

The spring of 1750 again found the young engineer at Winchester, and during March and April surveys were made on the North Branch of the Cacapon, on Trout Run, the Great Cacapon, Little Cacapon, and along the Potomac, all in what is now West Virginia. On April twenty-fifth he surveyed a tract of 240 acres for "Friend Cox" at the mouth of the Little Cacapon. In the latter part of July (1750) he and Major Lawrence Washington made a short visit to the Warm Springs (Berkeley Springs). The stay, however, was very brief, as they were back at Fredericksburg by the end of the month. It is possible they visited lands in present Jefferson County, inasmuch as Washington, by August fifteenth, was back in (then) Frederick County on the Bullskin Creek, making some surveys for Lawrence Washington of Mount Vernon. During the following October he made some surveys on the Long Marsh and on the "Fairfax Road and Run."

The month from November third to December third was devoted to work in the same region. On November twenty-fourth he noted that he "survey'd for myself the land at the head of the Marsh wch I bought of Captain Rutherford, and afterwards granted by Lord Fairfax." At his death he owned 1600 acres on the South Fork of the Bullskin; 453 at the "head of Evan's M" (arsh), and 183 in "Wormeley's line," all a part of the Washington lands at present Charles Town, West Virginia, and embracing the tract mentioned as bought of Rutherford. During the latter part of March, 1751, Washington made some surveys on Long Marsh Run and spent the month of April following in the same work along Mills Run, Lick Branch, and Dillon's Run of the Cacapon River. Some tracts were also "run out" along the Little Cacapon and the Potomac.

By March 16, 1752, he was again in Hardy, Hampshire, and Jefferson (then Frederick) County regions, making surveys on Lost River, Dillon's Run, and the South Fork of the Bullskin. His journals and papers show that during this entire period he enumerated over two hundred people for whom he made surveys, or who were connected with lands located on the waters of the lower Shenandoah River, and the tributaries of the Potomac, reaching as far south as the headwaters of Lost River, in present Hardy County. While there are two Trout Runs in this region, and one in Pendleton County, it is clear that his work as an engineer was almost wholly confined to what is now the counties of Hardy, Mineral, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley, and Jefferson, in West Virginia, and to a small acreage in Frederick and Clarke Counties, in Virginia.

During January, April, and August, of 1753, Washington was in Frederick County on short journeys, apparently in connection with business matters; but the only available evidence is three entries in one of his ledgers. Dr. John Fitzpatrick, who makes this notation in his valuable *George Washington, Colonial Traveller* (1927), quotes an extract from a letter from Washington to Governor Dinwiddie which seems to show that he was in Winchester on October seventeenth. In this extract Washington writes, "this day I marche about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland." About this same time he set out from Mount Vernon for Williamsburg, in keeping with some instructions received from Dinwiddie.

Washington next appeared west of the Blue Ridge as the youthful ambassador from Governor Dinwiddie to the commander of the French forts on the extreme headwaters of the Ohio River. This journey, which actually marked the opening of the French and Indian war, embraced seventy-seven days of the most dangerous travel—days

between the first of November, 1753, and the middle of January, 1754. Accompanied by Jacob Van Braam, of Fredericksburg, as "my French Interpreter," Washington recorded "went to Winchester" and from "thence persued the new road to Wills Creek (Cumberland, Maryland), where we arrived on the 14th of November," having passed through Winchester and thence across present Hampshire County. They arrived at the site of Pittsburgh on Friday, the twenty-third, after a journey through the wilderness along the watershed of the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny Rivers. From the "forks of the Ohio" the journey continued by Logstown to Fort Le Boeuf, the French fort, located near present Waterford, Pennsylvania. Returning by practically the same route, Washington arrived at present Cumberland on January 6, 1754, and from Winchester continued to Williamsburg, arriving on the sixteenth. Inside of twenty-four hours he wrote out an eight thousand word report which gave the world the story of that daring journey. It was printed both here and abroad.

In March, 1754, Washington received orders to take the Virginia Regiment and march to the Ohio River in the Pittsburgh district, there to aid Captain William Trent in the building of the forts and in defending the possessions of "his Majesty" against the encroachment of the French. He arrived at Winchester on April tenth and crossed present West Virginia by way of Fort Edwards (Capon Bridge), arriving at "Job Pearsall's" (Romney) on the nineteenth, where he "tarried," waiting for "the arrival of the troops where they came the next day." The march continued down the valley of the South Branch of the Potomac to its mouth. They arrived at Fort Cumberland by the twenty-third. The troop movement continued northwest through Garrett County, Maryland, and Somerset and Fayette Counties, Pennsylvania, as far as Mount Braddock, with

Redstone (Brownsville) on the Monongahela River as the objective. Advices concerning the movements of the French troops caused Washington with his small force to fall back to the "Great Meadows," a treeless plain east of Laurel Mountain in present Fayette County. Here he hastily erected a stockade known as Fort Necessity, which he was forced to surrender to the French. Evacuation of the fort took place on the fourth of July. In spite of the result of the campaign, and the significance of the date as bearing on the future of Washington as a leader in the American Revolution, the land thereabouts was not without attractions. In 1767 he acquired 234 acres in the "meadow" and included in the survey the site of the fort and his first unfortunate military experience. Following the surrender, in which he was permitted to retire with his troops, the return journey was made over the same general route. From Winchester, on July twenty-third, Washington filed a general return of the troops that made up his Virginia regiment.

On November 25, 1754, Washington was in Winchester and spent four or five days in Frederick County.

The story of the expedition in 1755 under the English General, Edward Braddock, the march to the ill-fated battlefield on the Monongahela, now embraced in the city of Braddock, Pennsylvania, and the part taken therein by Washington is well known to every school child. He was in Winchester on April twenty-eighth and also on the thirtieth, having left Mount Vernon on the twenty-third on his way to Fort Cumberland. In preparation for the campaign, he had brought four horses along; these he took to the Washington lands at present Charles Town on Bullskin Creek. Three of them were rendered unfit for use, and one had to be killed, happenings which naturally caused him some inconvenience. On May fifth, he records that he met

Braddock at Frederick, Maryland, and that they were then at Winchester, waiting to "continue our march to Wills Creek" (Cumberland). Six companies of the Forty-Fourth Regiment came directly through Winchester. The Forty-Eighth Regiment crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and passed within six miles of Winchester. For the next seven days the British troops toiled along the primitive roads in Frederick County, Virginia, and in Jefferson, Berkeley, and Hampshire Counties, now West Virginia, recrossing into Maryland at the mouth of the Little Cacapon River. The expedition arrived at Fort Cumberland on the tenth.

The hills of western Virginia were evidently hard on Washington's boots, because he urged his brother, John Augustine Washington (May 14th) to send him a pair at once, as his old ones were badly worn. Delays to the expedition then followed during which he made a trip back to Winchester for money with which to pay the impatient regulars. This journey continued on to Williamsburg; he returned through Winchester on the twenty-seventh, and by the thirtieth was back at his post in Cumberland. By June eighth the entire force had taken up the line of march through the wilderness of western Maryland and southwestern Pennsylvania—the objective being Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh. On the evening of July eighth the English columns for the second time reached the Monongahela River at a point ten miles distant from the mouth of that river. The disastrous results of the next day are well known. At the close of the day, of the 1,200 men who had crossed the river at present Braddock (Pennsylvania), 67 officers and 714 privates were killed or wounded. Braddock, mortally wounded, died four days later and was buried in the road near Fort Necessity. The troops were seized with a panic. Washington collected the remnant of the Virginia troops and, in some sort of order, covered the retreat to

Fort Cumberland. From here he expected to return to Mount Vernon in about two weeks, as he wrote his brother, "which is as soon as I can well be down, as I shall take (in) my Bullskin Plantations"—alluding to his land in lower Jefferson County. He passed through Winchester on the twenty-fourth, crossed the Blue Ridge, and arrived at Mount Vernon on July twenty-sixth.

On August fourteenth—the month following the defeat of Braddock—Washington was commissioned commander of the Virginia forces with the rank of colonel. He was promised a regiment of seven hundred men. With this little army he was to build some forts, man some already established, and defend a frontier stretching along the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies for almost three hundred miles. It was quite natural that the town of Winchester should become his headquarters. "I proceeded to Winchester where I arrived on the 14th of September," he wrote, then continued across present West Virginia "to Cumberland, and took upon me the command of the troops there." Here he secured the services of a guide and started on a tour of inspection of the region back of the mountains to the west of the Shenandoah Valley. The route led from Fort Cumberland to Cresap's on the Potomac, thence by the old Indian path up the South Branch of the Potomac to and through present Pendleton County, West Virginia, crossing through present Highland County, Virginia, and down Jackson's River. On the twenty-fourth he reached Fort Dinwiddie, the southernmost point on the tour. This fort was located on Jackson's River about five miles west of the site of Warm Springs, Bath County. Leaving this point, possibly by Dunlap's Gap, now Goshen Pass, he reached Augusta Court House, now the city of Staunton, by Friday, the twenty-sixth; from this place he crossed the Blue Ridge, reaching Mount Vernon by October second. By the tenth

he had again assumed command at Winchester. In November and December he visited Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, and Mount Vernon, but was back at Winchester by December twentieth at which time he appears to have inspected the post at Fort Cumberland.

The year 1756 opened with Washington eager to advance to the west and to the enemy's country. He was hampered, however, in his plans by Captain Dagworthy, the English officer in command at Fort Cumberland, who interposed objections. Not to be outdone, Washington secured a two months' leave of absence and left Winchester on February fourth for Boston to lay the matter before Lord Shirley, who was in command of all British forces in America. On April sixth he returned to Winchester, finding, as he wrote, "the people of this town are under dreadful apprehension of an attack, and all the roads between this and Fort Cumberland are much infested" with the enemy. Indeed, the subject of roads and communication between Winchester and Cumberland gave the young commander considerable worry. Cumberland was the last of the outer line of defense. Two general routes then existed between the two points. Both led west from Winchester to Fort Edwards, now Capon Bridge, Hampshire County, West Virginia. From this point one branch turned north to the mouth of the Little Cacapon River at Fort Cox, crossing into Maryland. The other road continued west by way of Fort Pearsal, now the town of Romney, thence to Patterson's Creek and down that valley to its mouth, crossed the Potomac at Fort Sellars, then northwestward to Fort Cumberland. These were the routes nearly always used by troops and others at that time.

On May twenty-third, 1756, he wrote, "I have begun the fort," and recited that he could not leave Winchester at

that time as "the work would not be conducted if I was away . . . " The "fort" in question was historic Fort Loudoun, built by, and under, Washington's direction in Winchester. In spite of his presence, however, work on this undertaking was delayed; it was not completed until the month of September, 1757. It was located on Main Street near present Peyton, covered about one-half acre, and was a redoubt with four bastions in which sixteen small cannon were mounted. During June following he made a trip to Mount Vernon, returned and continued to Fort Cumberland where he spent some time in June and July. After another visit home in September, he made ready for a trip of inspection of the line of forts to the southwest.

On Wednesday, September twenty-ninth (1756), he left Winchester, possibly accompanied by Captain John McNeill, at least on part of the journey. The route led up the Shenandoah Valley to present Staunton, making two stops or more, apparently at the home of residents in what is now Shenandoah and Rockingham Counties. He was in Staunton from October first until about the fifth, at which time he set out for the South. The route from this point for the next five days is not clear; but on the tenth, he was within five miles of the Carolina line—"proceeding," he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, "to the southernmost Fort in Halifax county," in the Roanoke River valley. Here he paid a guide, bought two horses, retraced his journey north to Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson's River, and arrived by Monday, October eighteenth. He was now accompanied by Colonel John Buchanan. After making a hasty inspection of this post, he seems to have gone on to "Miller's fort," near Vanderpool Gap, in present Highland County. The journey was then partly retraced with a stop at Fort Dickinson, the leading stronghold on the Cowpasture River, located a few miles west of present Millboro, Virginia. By

the twentieth he arrived at Staunton, stopped at "McGee's Ordinary," and on Saturday, the twenty-third, was back at his headquarters in Winchester. "This jaunt," he wrote to Dinwiddie, on November 9, 1756, "which has just been concluded, afforded me an opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants." It is not likely that this man with an unusual amount of sense, riding horseback through forests, and up and down streams, over primitive trails or no trail at all, on the two hasty inspections of "his line of defense" covering several hundred miles, found time to go out of his way to visit many natural curiosities so that he might carve his initials to be viewed by gullible tourists many years later. During the latter part of the year he left his post for an inspection of Fort Cumberland, and made several trips to Alexandria and Williamsburg.

In January, 1757, Washington left Winchester and made a trip east as far as Philadelphia, where he attended a meeting of the Council of Governors and took up military matters pertaining to his field of operations. Returning to his post by April seventh, he continued to Fort Cumberland to attend a Council of War on the sixteenth. On this trip he no doubt visited, at least, five forts in present Hampshire and Mineral Counties, West Virginia. Returning to Winchester he remained at his headquarters, except for a few trips east of the Blue Ridge, until late in the year, when he received a "leave of absence" and went to Mount Vernon.

In April, 1758, Washington again assumed his command at Winchester, and began preparations for another expedition to the "forks of the Ohio," the purpose of which was to drive out the French and take possession of Fort Duquesne on the site of Pittsburgh. He led one of the Virginia

regiments, and Colonel William Byrd the other. It was not until June twenty-fourth that the expedition moved out of Winchester. He reported that with five companies and twenty-eight wagons he advanced west by way of the South Branch of the Potomac, thence by Cumberland, following a route slightly different from that used by Braddock, which did not meet with his personal approval. The story of this expedition and of the evacuation of Fort Duquesne by the French is too well known to need repeating here. The Virginians penetrated as far as the mouth of Brushy Run and the vicinity of Turkey Run, in western Pennsylvania, as Washington records, a day's march from the Ohio. He returned by the same general route, passing through Cumberland; December ninth found him in Winchester with his troops in a distressing condition. Here ended his military connection with the region west of the Blue Ridge and he set out for Williamsburg in the closing days of the year.

It is not strange that out of this service came a desire to take part in local politics. Although he lived at Mount Vernon, the ownership of real estate in the county of Frederick and the town of Winchester qualified him to hold office under the laws of that day. He became a candidate for the House of Burgesses, but his first attempt at election met with failure. The next attempt, however, was more successful; although practically a non-resident, he represented Frederick County from 1758 to 1761.

During the year 1759 Washington devoted most of his time to affairs around Mount Vernon. But one visit west of the Blue Ridge is recorded, that being in May, when he visited his lands in Frederick County, spending the twenty-first in Winchester.

On Monday, May 5, 1760, he again entered the Shenandoah Valley, arriving at the home of Richard

Stephenson—a half brother of Colonel William Crawford —who had been a former employe. The time until, and including Thursday, the eighth, was spent in inspection of his own property on Bullskin Creek, and that of his brother Samuel located in the same region just outside of present Charles Town. Here he found that slaves he had sent out to work on the property had been taken ill with smallpox, and that two of them had died. He made arrangements with Valentine Crawford, later agent for his lands on the Ohio, to care for the sick.

In March, 1761, Washington made a hasty trip to Frederick County, and again appeared, about the middle of May, in the role of a candidate for re-election to the House of Burgesses. But his business was not to be neglected, as he visited his property on the Bullskin before he left for east of the Blue Ridge. In August he made a trip to Warm Springs (Berkeley Springs), arriving on Tuesday, the twenty-fifth. He found, he wrote, "about 200 people at this place, full of all manner of diseases and complaints," and his own "fevers a good deal abated," but his "pains were growing worse." He remained only a few days, then set out for Mount Vernon.

During 1762 Washington crossed the Blue Ridge and spent a few days in Frederick County early in October. About the middle of January, 1763, he was again in the same region for two or three days; and on June twenty-seventh, was on his lands on Bullskin Creek, remaining until early in July in the Winchester section. This was followed, in September, by a business trip to Greenway Court for a day. About April 22, 1764, a short trip occupied his time in the same region. It was not until 1767 that he again appeared, making a trip from Mount Vernon to the Shenandoah region early in June and again in the latter part of November. Most of these "tours" were of

few days' duration and usually to Greenway Court, the residence of Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, in what is now Clarke County, about twelve miles from Winchester. Here affairs pertaining to the sale and leasing of the Fairfax lands received attention.

In March, 1769, Washington made a trip into Fauquier County to survey some lands for George Carter, son of "King" Carter. He continued to Greenway Court where he met Captain William Crawford and his brother Valentine. He then proceeded to present Jefferson County, where (21st) he "went and laid off 4 lots at the head of Bullskin for several tenants," returning to Mount Vernon by the twenty-fourth. In August following, a journey was made to Berkeley Springs, the object being to see if the waters of the "Warm Springs" would not help Martha ("Patsey") Custis, a daughter of Mrs. Washington, who suffered from a form of epilepsy. A wagon was sent ahead with supplies and a tent which was used because the house in which the party was to lodge was found in bad shape. Travelling over the Blue Ridge, by way of Jost Hite's on the Shenandoah, the party "bated at Opeekon," lodged at "Hedges" on Back Creek (5th), and arrived at the springs at noon on the sixth, where they had dinner with Colonel George Fairfax. A number of guests were there, including some of Washington's relatives. On the fifteenth, Washington rode over to Sleepy Creek in present Morgan County, and, with an eye for western Virginia scenery, on the nineteenth "rid with Mrs. Washington and others to the Cacapehon Mountain to see the prospect from thence," a beautiful view. Sunday always found the party at church. On September fourth, Washington noted that he "rid to the pasture where my horses were, then to the Pennsylvania line" and back. On the ninth, the party set out for Mount

Vernon by way of Warner Washington's home in present Clarke County, and through Snickers Gap.

Washington next appeared west of the Blue Ridge in the memorable tour into the Ohio basin in 1770. This journey, the basis for much of the text in this volume, has been treated in detail in a preceding chapter. It is well, however, in order to preserve the continuity of this study, to make passing mention of the itinerary of this, the sole and only trip down the Ohio River. It will be remembered that the ever resourceful Dinwiddie had allotted 200,000 acres of land along the Ohio to be divided among the men who served in the French and Indian war. This needed to be acquired, surveyed, and divided. Washington, in August, 1770, was selected by the officers and men of the Virginia Regiment to take charge of this project. Accompanied by Dr. James Craik and others, he crossed the Blue Ridge, arriving at the home of his brother Samuel (1734-1781) at "Harewood" near present Charles Town, on October sixth. The route then led across the Cacapon River to the site of Romney, crossing Patterson's Creek and on to Pittsburgh, by way of Cumberland, and the old "Washington" or Braddock Road. Embarking in canoes at Pittsburgh, on the twentieth, the journey continued down the Ohio River, camp being made at several points on the (West) Virginia shore. On the thirty-first, Washington landed some miles above the site of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, and walked overland to the junction of the Ohio and the Great Kanawha rivers.

On November first, the party moved up the Great Kanawha, camping about one mile below present Arbuckle Station, Mason County, West Virginia. On Saturday, the third, he set out on his return, after marking four trees as a "corner for the soldiers land . . . . . if we can get it." The journey continued up the Ohio to present Steubenville,

Ohio, where horses were secured, and on the twentieth the party passed up Harmon Creek, in West Virginia, into Pennsylvania, thence across to Cumberland. From Cumberland the route led by the mouth of the Little Cacapon River, crossing to the forks of the Great Cacapon to the home of Samuel Washington. On the thirtieth, the party crossed the Blue Ridge on the way to Mount Vernon, having been absent "nine weeks and one day."

In March, 1771, a meeting of the men interested in the "military land grants" was called at Winchester. Washington arrived on the fourth and on the following day rendered his accounts and made his reports relative to his journey down the Ohio. On the sixth he set out for the home of his brother Samuel, at "Harewood." Here he spent five days in company with Captain William Crawford, who had been selected to do the actual surveying, going over details. On the eleventh he left for Mount Vernon.

On Monday, June 1, 1772, Washington again crossed the Blue Ridge and spent two days at the home of his brother Samuel; part of the time was devoted to making some local land surveys. It was not until March ninth, 1774, that he again appeared in the community, where he spent three days in visiting his brother and in inspecting his lands on the Bullskin. Between November twenty-fourth and thirtieth of the same year, he journeyed from Mount Vernon to the neighborhood of Snickers Gap to attend a land sale on the Shenandoah.

During the next ten years Washington had little time or opportunity to make any trips to western Virginia. The American Revolution, as pointed out in earlier chapters, took his entire attention, although letters quoted elsewhere show that even on the eve of battle he could pause to reflect upon his business affairs.

It was not until the fall of 1784 that he again appeared west of the Blue Ridge. This journey had a two-fold purpose; (1) to attempt to seek out some means of travel by water to the west of that day, and (2) to make some arrangement concerning the handling of his lands in western Pennsylvania and on the Ohio and Great Kanawha. Accompanied by Dr. James Craik, and later joined by William Craik and Bushrod Washington, he crossed by the Leesburg road into the Shenandoah Valley, arriving at "Happy Retreat," the home of his brother Charles (1738-1799), near the site of Charles Town, on September third. Numerous callers, among them General Daniel Morgan, came to see the late leader in the War for Independence. The route then led by way of present Martinsburg to Berkeley Springs or Bath, where Washington recorded (6th) that he remained "all day, and was showed the model of a boat constructed by the ingenius Mr. Rumsey." This was James Rumsey, the inventor of the steamboat. Owning two lots in the town, Washington secured a plat and made arrangements with Rumsey to construct a house. The eighth found the party travelling along the Maryland side of the Potomac. Near present Little Orchard, Maryland, Washington left the others and crossed the Potomac at the mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek to inspect a tract of 240 acres of land which he owned. He then recrossed the river and overtook the others at Oldtown. The journey continued west by way of Cumberland to Chartier's Creek near Canonsburg, Washington County, Pennsylvania. Here he inspected his lands, the story of which is covered by a preceding chapter, and attended to other business affairs. He also took great pains to gather information about all the rivers and the possibilities of a canal connection between the Potomac and the tributaries of the Ohio.

Turning southwest from the site of Perryopolis, Pennsylvania, Washington and his party passed through "Beason Town," now Uniontown, and on the twenty-fourth crossed the Cheat River en route to the office of Samuel Hanway, surveyor for Monongalia County, (West) Virginia. The office was located at the home of John Pierpont who lived about four miles northeast of Morgantown, the county seat. Here he had a somewhat famous interview with young Albert Gallatin who later appeared in contemporary national affairs. Hanway sent to "Morgan's Town" after Zackwell Morgan, the founder, who upon his arrival gave Washington much information concerning the valley of the Monongahela and the Little Kanawha River regions. Leaving Pierpont's on the twenty-fifth, the party crossed Cheat River at Ice's Ferry, thence by way of Sandy Creek, present Preston County, into Maryland. Passing through the "glades" near the site of Oakland, he crossed the North Branch of the Potomac and again entered (West) Virginia following the old McCullough Path. The route then led southeast crossing Backbone Mountain and the extreme head of Patterson's Creek into the vicinity of present Petersburg. The evening of the twenty-seventh found him at the home of Colonel Abram Hite at "Fort Pleasant," where he was visited by Joseph Neville and others. This fort which is shown on Washington's map of "Operations in Virginia" in 1756 was located on the "Indian Old Fields" about a mile and a half above the "Trough" on the South Branch of the Potomac in present Hardy County, West Virginia. He surveyed lands here in 1747-48. On the twenty-eighth, he travelled up the South Fork and, by way of Rough Run, passed through Brocks Gap into Rockingham County. On the thirtieth, he passed about two miles west of Harrisonburg and arrived at the home of Thomas Lewis, near Staunton. Here he investigated the possibility of a waterway between the James

River and the Great Kanawha. On October first, he paid a visit to Gabriel Jones, a noted lawyer and local resident, who was long counsel for Lord Fairfax. He then left for Mount Vernon by way of Swift Run Gap and Culpeper Court House.

The year 1785 found Washington devoting much time to the affairs of the Potomac Company, then engaged in an attempt to canalize the Potomac River. In Company with Governor Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, Governor Thomas S. Lee, of Virginia, and James Rumsey, the general manager, he arrived at the mouth of the Shenandoah on Saturday, August sixth, and "dined at Harpers Ferry," at Morris's Tavern. An exhaustive examination of the river was made and arrangements completed to begin work at that point. Many visitors called, among whom were his brother Charles of "Happy Retreat," near present Charles Town; General Daniel Morgan, Captain Abraham Shepherd, of Shepherdstown, and Colonel David Shepherd, of Wheeling. On the ninth he set out for Mount Vernon.

Accompanied by the same officials Washington again visited Harpers Ferry in 1788. Arriving on Monday, June second, he records that they "walked up to the head of the canal on the Maryland side and viewed all the works." The next day after a board meeting "went to my brothers (Charles Washington) about eight miles off, dined there and continued on in the afternoon to Colonel Warner Washington's" in present Clarke County, on the return to Mount Vernon.

His next return to the west was as President of the United States. He made a tour of western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and (West) Virginia during the "Whiskey Insurrection," in October, 1794. The route led from Philadelphia west to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, thence

across western Maryland to Williamsport on the Potomac, where he arrived on the fourteenth. He recorded that he "crossed the Potomac a mile or two below Hancock Town (and) lodged at the Warm Springs or Bath" (Berkeley Springs). On the fifteenth, he "left Bath by seven o'clock and, crossing the Cacapton Mountain and the Potomack River by a very rough road," passed through Oldtown on his way to Cumberland. Here he inspected troops, attended to military affairs and by the twentieth arrived at Bedford, Pennsylvania, on the return journey to the east.

This brings to a close a resume of Washington's activities in the land west of the Blue Ridge. It is not strange that out of this contact grew the great love he held for this region. Certain it is that this feeling was something more profound than the thought of reward in a material way. If he had not inherited Mount Vernon from his half brother, Lawrence Washington, he possibly would have made his home west of the Blue Ridge, following the example of his brothers. In 1859 John Esten Cooke, historian and novelist of the Shenandoah Valley, pointed out that Washington was born in Winchester in 1756, figuratively speaking. "It was here," he wrote, "that his supreme powers of endurance and resistance were developed" and "on a smaller scale he rehearsed the great contest of the Revolution." The experience developed one of the best, most sagacious business men of his time.

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